

Early Christian Manuscripts

Examples of Applied Method
and Approach

TEXTS AND EDITIONS FOR NEW TESTAMENT STUDY (TENT) [5]

EDITED BY

Thomas J. Kraus & Tobias Nicklas

BRILL

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Texts and Editions for New Testament Study

Edited by

Stanley E. Porter and Wendy J. Porter

VOLUME 5

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EDITORS' PREFACE

This volume continues the series of Texts and Editions for New Testament Study (TENTS). We hope that it provides useful insight into an area of New Testament and related study through treatment of relevant texts and issues.

The series Texts and Editions for New Testament Study is designed to offer texts and editions, with commentary and comment, of important sources for the study of the New Testament and its world. Primary sources are envisioned as a mainstay of the series, in which documents that enlighten and support New Testament study are published in definitive, accessible and informative editions, often with supporting commentary. Collections of essays and monographs that focus upon these types of important sources are also welcome as they advance the scholarly discussion. The series is designed for scholars and is meant to push discussion forward by providing access to and engagement with primary sources and the latest critical scholarship. This is a growing and dynamic series of volumes designed to extend study of the New Testament in ways that have not been fully explored in recent scholarship.

The editors welcome submissions of proposals for manuscripts. It is anticipated that subsequent volumes will include editions of papyri and inscriptions relevant for New Testament study, other Greek and related documents, early Christian and Jewish texts, Coptic documents, commentaries on important primary sources, and critical analyses of various portions of the New Testament in relation to these documents and the world out of which they emerged.

If you would like to make a proposal, or to discuss further a potential topic of a future volume, please do not hesitate to contact one of the editors of the series.

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INTRODUCTION

EARLY CHRISTIAN MANUSCRIPTS: EXAMPLES OF APPLIED METHOD AND APPROACH

Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas

Even before *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World* (TENT 2; Leiden: Brill, 2006) was in print, definite arrangements had been made to comprise studies for a second volume. Some of the contributors to the first volume and some others who could not contribute due to workload or other obligations confirmed their willingness to write articles for a second volume whose primary focus would be on (a) individual manuscripts and (b) on certain groups of manuscripts. Consequently, the approach of the second volume would be a more papyrological one. In other words, this implies, for instance, that standard technical terms to describe manuscripts and critical transcriptions of their texts had to be presented in order to base a discussion of specific features on them. Soon we had a remarkable line-up of scholars and topics so that we were very confident of publishing a second volume just one year after the appearance of the first. But then occurred, by accident, what many other editors and authors know about: some contributors could not continue their work on their articles. It is needless to list the private or professional reasons that stopped the progress of the book, but all of them were serious. We fully understood and accepted each of them. As if that weren't enough, we, the editors, had to face some difficulties ourselves that brought our project to an immediate stop. Above all, the usual but heavy workload, some other projects we were and are still involved in, and the experience we had already had with volume two made it impossible for us to start anew. Thus, we decided not to pursue the aim to publish another set of articles on New Testament or Early Christian manuscripts and to turn to other projects.

However, just by chance we made contacts with scholars who had recently started working on significant topics that would fit exactly within the scope of the volume we had laid aside. And it was just by accident that they accepted our offer to contribute to this volume immediately so that, together with some of the proposed articles from contributors who were still willing to write for a new volume on manuscripts, these studies added up to what we present here: a set of studies that specialize on certain features of early Christian manuscripts. The contributions to this volume now

perfectly serve two additional purposes: they touch specific issues of method and demonstrate their application to individual or groups of manuscripts. Consequently, by means of different approaches, it is evident how necessary and rewarding studies can be that are based on aspects of particular papyri and involve the palaeography and/or historical background of manuscripts. Therefore, the individual studies are meant to serve as examples of applied method and approach to single papyri¹ and groups of manuscripts.

Finally and not by chance, the new line-up of authors and their subjects represents exactly what we were after from the very beginning of publishing a follow-up collection of studies after *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World*. There are now fresh investigations into individual papyri, methodical reflections on reconstructions of fragmentary papyri and a systematization of manuscripts labeled as ‘amulets’, and surveys of the manuscripts of a specific text (*Hermas*) and an archive of papyri. All these studies have at least one thing in common: they demonstrate the benefits from concise and critical research on papyri, taken as what they are, as archaeological objects for the study of early Christianity in general and the New Testament in particular.

The first two essays deal with the issue of reconstructing fragmentary manuscripts. While Thomas J. Kraus deals with a couple of fragments in order to demonstrate how to restore their texts and to determine the possibilities and pitfalls of proposed reconstructions (‘Reconstructing Fragmentary Manuscripts—Chances and Limitations’), Rachel Yuen-Collingridge points at the responsibilities of editors, especially those who sometimes hanker after identifications and reconstructions. She illustrates that by means of the theological text of a papyrus ascribed to Origen (‘Hunting for Origen in unidentified papyri: The case of *P.Egerton 2* [= *inv. 3*]’). The third contribution can be regarded as an application of the methodical reflections of the first two. Paul Foster examines *P.Oxy. X 1224* in full detail, and bases a reconstruction, a commentary, and some considerations of its date and social setting upon it (‘Papyrus *Oxyrhynchus X 1224*’). Lincoln Blumell presents another facet of reconstructing texts and, thus, answers a specific

¹ “Papyrology is the study of ancient texts from Egypt written in ink on papyrus as well as on pot-sherds, wooden tablets, leather, linen, etc.” (P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* [Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 2004] 1). As a consequence the term ‘papyri’ is also used for texts written on these and other materials, a practice that is followed in this introduction and in several studies in this volume. For a definition of the discipline ‘papyrology’ see, for instance, W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1918 [repr. 1980]) 1–18; H.-A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Die Altertumswissenschaft; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994) 1–3; R.S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (Approaching the Ancient World; London-New York: 1995) vii–viii, 1–8, esp. 1–3.

question ('Is *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057 the Earliest Christian Letter?'). He reevaluates the validity of arguments and in some ways 'restores' and reopens the debate about *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057.

The next set of three studies is dedicated to papyri that are given the label 'amulet'. John Granger Cook investigates into \mathfrak{P}^{50} (*P.Yale* I 3), freshly evaluates the pros and cons for its determination as an 'amulet', and reassesses its function anew (' \mathfrak{P}^{50} [*P.Yale* I 3] and the Question of its Function'). Don Barker takes into account that papyri were reused and aims at solving the problem of the intention of their reuse ('The Reuse of Christian Texts: *P.Macquarie inv.* 360 + *P.Mil.Vogl.inv.* 1224 [\mathfrak{P}^{91}] and *P.Oxy.* X 1229 [\mathfrak{P}^{23}]'). Consequently, he copes with their reconstructions and the issue of whether they were used as amulets or not. These two studies, among others, suggest the need for a systematic reevaluation of papyri labeled as 'amulets', and this is exactly what Theodore de Bruyn does in his study. He develops criteria for identifying biblical texts as amulets ('Papyri, Parchments, Ostraca, and Tablets Written with Biblical Texts in Greek and Used as Amulets: A Preliminary List'). At the same time he provides readers with a preliminary classification (in the form of lists): amulets, probable amulets, possible amulets, unlikely amulets.

Studies eight and nine deal with groups of manuscripts. Malcolm Choat and Rachel Yuen-Collingridge discuss the manuscripts with the *Shepherd of Hermas* in the pre-Constantine period ('The Egyptian Hermas: The Shepherd in Egypt before Constantine'). Astoundingly, *Hermas* is better attested in that time than most of the New Testament texts, except the Gospels of Matthew and John. The authors offer a catalogue of the manuscripts, with specific focus on format and handwriting. Finally, Stanley E. Porter chooses the Babatha Archive from Palestine as a role model of a specific corpus of papyri to discuss the relevance of documentary texts for a linguistic study of the New Testament ('The Babatha Archive, the Egyptian Papyri and their Implication for Study of the Greek New Testament').

The authors themselves, however, describe their intentions, the scope of research of their studies, and their main focus in short abstracts on the following few pages.

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LINCOLN BLUMELL received an M.St. from the University of Oxford (Christ Church) in 2004 and recently completed a Ph.D. at the University of Toronto in 2009. He is a Visiting Assistant Professor at Tulane University in New Orleans in the Department of Classical Studies. His primary research interests are papyrology (especially early Christian papyri) and early Christian epistolography. He is currently revising his doctoral dissertation, "Lettered Christians: Christians, Letters, Late Antique Oxyrhynchus," for publication.

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JOHN GRANGER COOK is a professor in the Dept. of Religion and Philosophy at LaGrange College in LaGrange, GA. He is particularly interested in the reception of the New Testament and has worked for a number of years on the interpretation of the Bible by pagan philosophers in antiquity (*The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* and *The Interpretation of the Old Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism*). Currently he is working on a volume for Mohr-Siebeck to be entitled *Roman Attitudes Toward the Christians: From Claudius to Hadrian*, which includes some

sections that examine the possible context of several documents in the New Testament.

PAUL FOSTER is Senior Lecturer in New Testament Language, Literature and Theology in the School of Divinity of the University of Edinburgh. Previously he has written on Matthew's Gospel, and more recently he has published 'A Very Short Introduction to the Apocryphal Gospels' (OUP, 2009) and has a forthcoming critical edition, introduction and commentary (Brill 2010). His ongoing research interests are in the areas of textual criticism, non-canonical gospels and Q.

THOMAS J. KRAUS is teaching at a grammar school and is a scholar of Classical and Biblical Studies. His interests—as shown by various articles, authored and edited volumes—are mainly in (early Christian) papyrology, the Christian Apocrypha, the language and textual history of the Septuagint and the New Testament, magic, and matters of book production and literacy in (late) antiquity.

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RACHEL YUEN-COLLINGRIDGE works in the Ancient Cultures Research Centre at Macquarie University on the projects 'Papyri from the Rise of Christianity in Egypt' and 'Bilingualism and the Greek Language in Hellenistic Egypt: Evidence from the Zenon Archive'. Her research interests include Greek lexicology, textual transmission and papyrology.

PREFACE

The years between the publication of *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World* (TENT 2; Brill: Leiden, 2006) and the present volume has been a time of change and challenges, both in regard to personal and professional matters. Nevertheless, it is not just a duty but a pleasure to say thank you to people as follows:

- to Stanley E. Porter and Wendy J. Porter, the editors of the series *Texts and Editions in New Testament Study*, for their support and their willingness to accept the book for their series.
- to the friendly people at Brill Academic Publishers in Leiden for their help and friendliness during the process of book production.
- to Evelyn Karl (University of Ratisbona/Germany) for her invaluable work on the form and the texts of the studies.
- to the contributors of this volume without whom the present collection of essays would not have been possible: thank you indeed for your patience and your geniality. It was a pleasure to cooperate with you!
- to our families who granted us time and understanding to finalize this book and who gave us the strength to get through all the difficulties we had to face before the manuscript went to press.

Thomas J. Kraus
Tobias Nicklas

ABSTRACTS

THOMAS J. KRAUS

Reconstructing Fragmentary Manuscripts—Chances and Limitations

How do we soundly reconstruct gaps in manuscripts? Which status does the reconstructed text then have? What about deducing more complex hypotheses from reconstructions? In addition, it makes a difference if a manuscript can be identified with a known text and reconstructed as such (e.g., *P.Ryl.* III 457 = \mathfrak{P}^{52} ; *P.Rain.Cent.* 26) or if the reconstruction of an unknown text is based on probabilities, possibilities, and tentative efforts (which is the case with manuscript fragments that are discussed as the remnants of lost and unknown Gospels, such as *P.Mert.* II 51, *P.Vindob.G* 2325, and *P.Oxy.* IV 654 and the fragment of a shroud); even the latter category is not a homogeneous one. The paper will explore chances and limitations, will tackle methodological pitfalls, and will propose an adequate treatment of fragmentary manuscripts.

RACHEL YUEN-COLLINGRIDGE

Hunting for Origen in unidentified papyri: The case of *P.Egerton* 2 (= *inv.* 3)
Unidentified literary papyri provide an alternative history of ancient literature independent of that transmitted by the mediaeval manuscript tradition. They hold the potential to shed light on the suppressed, the banal or even idiosyncratic expression of literary culture in antiquity. At the textual level, however, this unique potential is eroded by the editorial endeavor to identify and restore. The methodological necessity of the textual parallel, while mitigating wilful Greek prose composition, normalizes the text by using the known to speak for the unknown. The tension generated by the nature of the source material on the one hand and the methodology used to explicate it on the other is here examined with reference to the case of an unidentified theological text ascribed to Origen (*P.Egerton* 2 = *inv.* 3). In particular it advocates the conservative dependence on literary analogy for restoration. Yet something of the uniqueness of such a source material may be preserved by resisting the attribution of the text to a known author and instead using metatextual (e.g. format) and intertextual (e.g. citation practice) features to contextualize the text as literary artifact.

PAUL FOSTER

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus X 1224

This study re-examines the fragmentary remains of *P.Oxy.* X 1224, most probably discovered during the winter season dig of 1903–04. The partial

extant text appears to preserve a number of gospel-like stories. This treatment considers the discovery, the codicology and the palaeology, and offers a reconstruction of the text. There then follows a detailed commentary as well as a consideration of the date of the text carried by the papyrus fragment. Finally the discussion draws some tentative conclusions concerning the social setting of *P.Oxy. X 1224* and its setting in early Christianity.

LINCOLN BLUMELL

Is *P.Oxy. XLII 3057* the Earliest Christian Letter?

When *P.Oxy. XLII 3057* was first published in 1974 the editor, Peter Parsons, tentatively raised the possibility that it may have been written by a Christian since it contained a number of peculiarities that could have derived from a Christian milieu. Due to the fact Parsons dated this letter to the late first century it initially attracted some interest. However, given that many of the apparently "Christian" features of the letter were later judged to be rather ambiguous, it did not receive much attention as a source for early Christianity in subsequent scholarship. Recently, interest in the letter has been renewed as attempts have been made to reopen the debate surrounding this letter as they have attempted to show that it contains a number of features that decidedly favor Christian authorship. This paper will therefore evaluate the validity of such arguments and will reconsider whether *P.Oxy. XLII 3057* could be the earliest extant Christian letter.

JOHN GRANGER COOK

℘⁵⁰ (*P.Yale I 3*) and the Question of its Function

The purpose for ℘⁵⁰ (*P.Yale I 3*), which comprises two selections from Acts (8:26–32, 10:26–31), has long been debated. The first editor, Carl Kraeling, believed that the text might have been for "missionary or homiletic purposes or both." A number of subsequent scholars concluded that it was an amulet. The criteria used for evaluating texts as Christian amulets need to be reevaluated. There are several indications that ℘⁵⁰ may have had a function other than use as an amulet. One is the nature of folded documents in antiquity. The other is the reception of the texts from Acts in ancient Christian literature.

DON BARKER

The Reuse of Christian Texts: *P.Macquarie inv. 360* + *P.Mil.Vogl.inv. 1224* (℘⁹¹) and *P.Oxy. X 1229* (℘²³)

There are at least two New Testament papyri fragments from codices that show signs of reuse, ℘⁹¹ and ℘²³. What was the intent of their reuse? The contents of the reconstructed pages from which they have broken off may

enable us to answer the question. For P⁹¹ a tentative reconstruction of the text on the leaf from which it has broken away suggests that it was used as an amulet for healing. For P²³ it seems the reason may have been one of consolation during some period of difficulty.

THEODORE DE BRUYN

Papyri, Parchments, Ostraca, and Tablets Written with Biblical Texts in Greek and Used as Amulets: A Preliminary List

In Late Antiquity scribes transcribed passages from the Bible for a variety of personal uses. Some of these biblical texts were used to protect or help their owners as amulets. However, it is not always easy to differentiate between biblical texts written to be used as amulets and biblical texts written for some other personal use. This paper presents criteria that may be used to identify biblical texts used as amulets, considers difficulties presented by ambiguous cases, and presents a preliminary list of biblical texts that were certainly, probably, or possibly amulets. The paper confines itself to items from the fourth to the eighth centuries C.E. that have Christian elements, that were written in Greek, and that were found in Egypt.

MALCOLM CHOAT & RACHEL YUEN-COLLINGRIDGE

The Egyptian Hermas: The Shepherd in Egypt before Constantine

This article surveys manuscripts preserving the *Shepherd* of Hermas which survive from Egypt before the time of Constantine. Considered scripture by some (even to the point of being included in Codex Sinaiticus), Hermas is the best attested Christian text from Pre-Constantinian Egypt after the Gospels of Matthew and John, and retains its relative popularity into the fourth and fifth centuries. Eleven texts on papyrus and parchment have been palaeographically dated to this period, with the earliest dating to the late second or early third century. This chapter provides a catalogue of the manuscripts, and discussed their format and handwriting, and suggests that use of Hermas' works for cataphetical instruction accounts for the high rate of survival among the papyri.

STANLEY E. PORTER

The Babatha Archive, the Egyptian Papyri and their Implications for Study of the Greek New Testament

This paper in corpus linguistics compares a number of linguistic features of the Greek of the New Testament, a selected corpus of Egyptian papyri, and the Babatha archive from Palestine. The paper first places the papyri of Egypt and the Babatha archive in their appropriate historical contexts. Then, in light of recent opinion regarding the nature of the Greek of the papyri,

the question of the representativeness of the language of documentary texts is discussed, considering the usefulness of the notion of substandard language. The final major section examines specific linguistic features, including conjunctions, thematization, participants, verbal mood and attitude, tense-forms and aspect, and voice forms and causality. The paper concludes that the three corpora of Greek texts reflect the same linguistic code.

CHAPTER ONE

RECONSTRUCTING FRAGMENTARY MANUSCRIPTS— CHANCES AND LIMITATIONS

Thomas J. Kraus

1 Introduction

Restoring gaps in history or in manuscripts is a challenging task or, to be more precise, are two different challenges. Historical gaps are a nuisance to every historian so that he or she craves to fill them.¹ The method, however, has changed a lot since historiography, at least in the form in which we accept it today, came into being. Nowadays, we know that the account given by Herodotus of Halicarnassus, “the father of history” (Cicero, *de leg.* 1.5), provokes some critical questions and obviously contains some gaps, although Herodotus himself distinguishes between reliable and dubious reports.² He tried to solve some riddles by travelling on his own. Nonetheless, he had to reconstruct some of the gaps in his own accounts by accepting some unreliable sources here and there. Others who tried to serve as historiographers, at least to the extent they understood themselves as such, were to follow. Yet, fidelity to sources and methods was not always the governing principle, but often just a pawn of personal preference, individual socialization, and fantasy. During the time of Sulla’s dictatorship, the generation of the so-called young Annalists, for instance, continued the work of their predecessors in writing a comprehensive Roman history that started from the very beginning. Their works formed the main basis of the monumental *Ab urbe condita* (“From the Founding of the City”), the 142-volume

¹ Cf. W.H. Dray, *On History and Philosophers of History* (Leiden et al.: Brill, 1989) 219 (“[...] the historian understands historical change by filling in apparent gaps”), 225 (“historical gaps are not merely spatio-temporal ones”).

² Over the intervening years, for some people Herodotus had the reputation as “the father of history” (due to his marvellous achievement of writing such a comprehensive history), whereas others regarded him as “the father of lies” (as a consequence of the inconsistencies and filled gaps in his work). Cf. A. Momigliano, “The Place of Herodotus in the History of Historiography,” *History* 43 (1958) 1–13; J.A.S. Evans, “Father of History or Father of Lies: The Reputation of Herodotus,” *CJ* 64 (1968) 11–17; W.K. Pritchett, *The Liar School of Herodotus* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1993) and the review by M. Kwantner for *BMCR* 94.04.10 (last access 04/11/2008); E.J. Bakker, I.J.F. de Jong and H. van Wees, eds., *Brill’s Companion to Herodotus* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) and the review by S.M. Burstein *BMCR* 2003.04.02 (<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu>; last access 07/07/2009).

landmark history of Rome composed by Titus Livius (Livy), of which only a quarter is extant today. Livy's history soon gained almost canonical status in the succeeding historical tradition of the history of Rome and the Roman Republic. The young Annalists, however, whose works Livy used as sources at least for parts of his history, felt inclined to fill gaps in their accounts in a creative, even airy and often very patriotic manner. Due to the events and occurrences of their time and how they had experienced them, they filled the gaps by applying their own fantasy, with the result that some aspects do not have any historic backing, but are the results of pure invention.³ Nevertheless, Livy's *Ab urbe condita* ("From the Founding of the City") is an indispensable witness to Roman history and to the discipline of historiography, which still serves as a vital source of the Roman Kingdom and Republic, and rightly so.

Even if only this small facet of a crucial point of history and historiography has been touched in this brief aside, the issue of reconstructing fragmentary manuscripts appears to be totally different and much less problematic. Yet, both suspicions are not true. Gaps (*lacunae*) in a text are filled with what seems to be plausible and probable and the reconstructed text then serves as the foundation of knowledge and hypotheses. As in the field of history the process of reconstructing a gap (i.e., filling it) must follow a methodological sound strategy, built upon clear-cut and approved criteria; and scholars who wish to use reconstructions as the basis for their own hypotheses must always be aware of the tentative and provisional nature of reconstructions (and scholars who wish to use such reconstructions as the basis for their own hypotheses should always be aware of their tentative and provisional nature).⁴ Moreover, without filling gaps in history and manu-

³ See J.E. Philips, "Current Research in Livy's First Decade," in: *ANRW* 2.30.2 (1982) 998–1057, here 1023–1027; A. Heuß, *Römische Geschichte* (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1983), 537–538; R.R. Holloway, *The Archaeology Of Early Rome and Latium* (London/New York: Routledge, 1996), 3–4. This is a guiding principle for historical novels, but with the difference that, from the beginning, they are composed in order to close gaps in historical accounts and/or to focus on figures that are just minor characters elsewhere. Of course, Livy's classic history has been object of much scholarly occupation, so that the number of studies is legion. However, good sources for details are R.M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy: Books 1 to 5* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965); S.P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy, Books VI–X* (4 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996–2005); J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy: Books XXXIV–XXXVII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); idem, *A Commentary on Livy, Books 38–40* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). For Livy's strategies in reconstructing the history of Early Rome see, for example, G.B. Miles, *Livy: Reconstructing Early Rome* (Ithaca/NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

⁴ Consequently, scholars must clearly state that their hypotheses are built on a reconstructed gap, so that readers are always aware that what is reconstructed is actually not extant, no matter how feasible the reconstruction might be. For the coherence of ancient manuscripts, plausibility, and probability, see T.J. Kraus, "7Q5: *Status quaestionis* und grundlegende Anmerkungen zur Relativierung der Diskussion um das Papyrusfragment,"

scripts we would just have a stone quarry of data consisting of fragments and gaps available today. Owing to the principles of clearness and plausibility as well as the human longing for (chronological) continuity, reliability and comprehension, restoring what we believe is true and sound as well as filling gaps (and *lacunae*) in history and manuscripts are tasks historians on the one hand and papyrologists as well as palaeographers on the other hand want to fulfil. All in all, it seems only natural to be driven by curiosity and an enquiring mind so that human beings search for mysteries and unsolved riddles, which they try to cope with. And it is these impulses which scholars of the relevant academic disciplines obey, when they fill in gaps in history or resolve *lacunae* of fragmentary manuscripts.

2 *The Reconstruction of Manuscripts—Some Model Cases*

After they have been cleaned with caution, conserved in a specific way, and restored, papyri⁵ are game for being edited.⁶ The text of a manuscript is read, maybe for the first time, and must be presented in such a shape that everybody can read it. Consequently, the text must be transcribed, obvious erratic readings and/or spellings corrected, evident missing words added, and gaps (*lacunae*) in the manuscripts indicated, to mention just a few of the tasks the editor of a papyrus must undertake; and all this must be done in a methodologically accurate and reliable way so that scholars who are interested in it and its text are able to distinguish between what is actually present and what has been corrected, added, or restored.⁷ Therefore, the consequent use of the so-called “Leiden system of transcription” with its different forms of signs and symbols (for instance, round and/or square parentheses and dots below the line) is a first step towards a thoroughly

RdQ 19 (1999) 239–258, above all 257–258, translated and enlarged with an addendum as “7Q5—*Status Questionis* and Fundamental Remarks to Qualify the Discussion of the Papyrus,” in: *idem*, *Ad Fontes: Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity* (Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 3; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007), 231–259, especially 248–249.

⁵ For the term “papyrus” cf. T.J. Kraus, “‘Pergament oder Papyrus?': Anmerkungen zur Signifikanz des Beschreibstoffes bei der Behandlung von Manuskripten,” *NTS* 49 (2003) 425–432, translated and enlarged with an addendum as “‘Parchment or Papyrus?': Some Remarks about the Significance of Writing Material when Assessing Manuscripts,” in *idem*, *Ad Fontes* (see n. 4), 13–24.

⁶ More comprehensive information can be found in E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980 [reprinted 1998]), 54–73 and 186–188; K.-H. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Die Altertumswissenschaft; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994) 17–19; P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (2nd ed.; Leiden et al.: Brill, 1994), 15–16 and 319 (inside of back cover).

⁷ See R.S. Bagnall, “Restoring the text of documents,” *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 4 (1988) 109–119, esp. 113.

and comprehensibly edited text, a step whose importance should not be underestimated.⁸ Editing the text of an archaeological artefact (such as a manuscript) is a challenging and sometimes even exhausting task. Nonetheless, there is a unique sensation about (re)editing a papyrus which every scholar who has actually done that job knows about.⁹

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate on the one hand the fundamental challenges and chances that occur in the process of reconstructing the text of a fragmentary manuscript, and on the one hand the liabilities and limits of this process.

In order to achieve this aim in the following, some cases as examples, categorized according to their main features, will help to visualize the whole issue. In addition, they will serve as a sample to draw conclusions from, as well as to manifest and reinforce a handful of methodological criteria for a sound and trustworthy policy of presenting reconstructions; *and* they should sound a warning cry “that restorations are a form of presentation of an argument, not simply another form of primary evidence messed up with some funny brackets.”¹⁰

The example cases primarily discussed are as follows: *P.Ryl.Gr.* 457 (=P⁵²)—a papyrus fragment identified with verses from the Gospel of John, *P.Mert.* II 51¹¹ and *P.Vindob.G* 2325—a potential “part of an uncanonical gospel” and the so-called “Fayûm-Gospel” or “Fayûm Fragment”, and *P.Oxy.* IV 654 and the fragment of a shroud—parts of the *Gospel of Thomas*. They all share some common features, for instance that they are fragmentary in some respect and to some extent in general. At the same time they are different and individual, for example, in relation to how their texts are restored and on the basis of which known texts, phrases, and terms; and

⁸ For details and some critical thoughts cf. M.L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973), 80–82; Turner, *Greek Papyri* (see n. 6), 70–71 and 187–188; Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (see n. 6), 26.

⁹ Eric G. Turner openly writes about the ambivalence of the tasks an editor has to fulfil (*Greek Papyri* [see n. 6], 54): “Any scholar who has experienced it will recall the excitement which accompanied the first reading of a formerly lost work of Greek literature, or the finding of an answer to a much-discussed question. He may also perhaps have felt a certain glee at the overturning of established opinion. It is exhilarating to realize that the last word has not been said, that a new and immediate contact has been reopened with the ancient world. This is one side of the coin: turn it over and remember that the creation of new knowledge also carries responsibilities. To work on something new is to accept the possibility of making mistakes. Correction of one mistake should not lead to the commission of others.”

¹⁰ R.S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (Approaching the Ancient World; London/New York: Routledge, 1995), 31.

¹¹ B.R. Rees, “51. Christian Fragment,” in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection Wilfred Merton*, Vol. II (ed. id., H.I. Bell and J.W.B. Barns; Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co., 1959), 1–4 (with plate I), here 2.

these themselves contain certain ideas and conceptions that they transport to and, thus, incorporate into the reconstruction.

2.1 *Identified fragments: no trouble whatsoever with known texts, or handle with care?*

2.1.1 P.Ryl.Gr. 457 = \mathfrak{P}^{52} —from transcription to reconstruction

Bernhard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt unearthed a vast amount of papyri from the rubbish heaps in the towns and settlements in Egypt, mostly along the Nile. In 1920, Grenfell acquired the papyrus fragment under discussion. Hunt was in charge of editing the third volume of Greek papyri in the John Rylands Library, but after his death in 1934 Colin H. Roberts took over the work as editor; and he finally identified the text of the fragment (catalogued as *P.Ryl.Gr.* 457, published in the third volume of papyri in the John Rylands Library [and consequently referred to as *P.Ryl.* III 457]¹³ and listed it as entry \mathfrak{P}^{52} in the Gregory-Aland list of New Testament manuscripts) as part of the Gospel of John.¹⁴

The fragment of a papyrus codex measures only 8.9 by 5.8 cm.¹⁵ The papyrus is of light colour and good quality. The upper margins and part of the inner margins are preserved, which facilitates the job of reconstructing the text. Based on palaeographic observations (for example, letter formation, omission of iota adscript, use of diaeresis—correctly in recto line 2 ουδεναιῖνα and incorrectly in verso line 2 ῖνα (with preceding ν) and possible faint traces over the final *iota* of ιουδαῖοι) and comparisons with other papyri—dated documents *and* literary texts—Colin H. Roberts suggests to regard “the first half of the second century” as the period in which the

¹² Rees, ‘51. Christian Fragment’ (see n. 11), 2.

¹³ *P.Ryl.* III 457 = C.H. Roberts, *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, Vol. III: *Theological and Literary Texts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1938), no. 457 (pp. 1–3). In the following, abbreviations of editions are only given according to the standard and conventional short forms in the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (see J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (regularly updated on the Internet at <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>; last access 11/01/2009).

¹⁴ For a full description see the *editio princeps* by C.H. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935) and id., “An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 20 (1936) 45–55. See further E.M. Schofield, *The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament* (Dissertation Louisville/Clinton, 1936), 330–334.

¹⁵ In his article from 1936, Roberts provides measurements of 8.9 × 6 cm. See L.W. Hurtado, “ \mathfrak{P}^{52} (P.Rylands Gr 457) and the *Nomina Sacra*: Method and Probability,” *TynBull* 54 (2003) 1–14, here 3 (and his note 5).

fragment was actually written by someone whose writing, “if not that of a practised scribe, is painstaking and regular.”¹⁶ All in all, the codex would originally have measured about 21 by 20 cm with one column and about 18 lines to the page and “the entire Gospel of St. John would occupy 130 pages or, with title-page, probably 66 leaves.”¹⁷ Roberts’ edition is admirably sound and offers indispensable details about the papyrus itself. Some of the *comparanda* he used, however, have been re-dated since then, and other texts have been employed as comparisons by others who have investigated *P.Ryl.* III 457 (P⁵²) and challenged Roberts’ dating,¹⁸ which is still favoured by most scholars.¹⁹

Everything reported and described here will appear superfluous to specialists. Nevertheless, the non-specialists should understand the procedure of transcribing and restoring fragmentary texts rather easily. Therefore, the relevant steps towards reconstructed texts are presented in such an elaborate way so that (a) method and systematic approach can be traced and

¹⁶ Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 16 (and 11) and 17 (quotes). For Roberts’ palaeographical reasoning and the parallel literary texts and dated documents see 13–17. Quality images are available in *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel according to St. John* (ed. W.J. Elliott and D.C. Parker; NTTS 20; Leiden et al.: Brill, 1995), plate 21, and on the Internet on the pages of the John Rylands University Library (<http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/specialcollections/collections/stjohnfragment>; last access 04/01/2009).

¹⁷ Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 21; W.H.P. Hatch, *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), plate I.

¹⁸ Most important are A. Schmidt, “Zwei Anmerkungen zu *P.Ryl.* III 457,” *APF* 35 (1989) 11–12, and B. Nongbri, “The Use and Abuse of P⁵²: Papyrological Pitfalls in the Dating of the Fourth Gospel,” *HTR* 98 (2005) 23–48. Schmidt compares *P.Ryl.* III 457 with *P.Chester Beatty X*, which is dated to the beginning of the 3rd century, and comes to the conclusion that the Rylands papyrus could have been written about 170 CE (±25 years). Schmidt’s hypothesis is taken over by Udo Schnelle (*The History and Theology of the New Testament Writings* [London: SCM Press Ltd., 1998], 447): “Cf. A. Schmidt, ‘Zwei Anmerkungen zu *P. Ryl.* III 457,’ *APF* 35 (1989), 11–12, who dates P52 in the period around 170 AD (+/- 25) on the basis of a comparison with *P. Chester Beatty X*, and thus excludes an early dating around ca. 125 for P52! The result for the dating of p52 is that the 125 AD period, usually given with extraordinary certitude, must now be stated with some doubt. One must at least allow a margin of 25 years, that one could think of a dating around 150.” Nongbri employs a remarkable number of comparative hands (40–45 and figures 11–16) and considers a date “in the later second and early third centuries” as possible (46). However, more important to him is to stress that the date of P⁵² does not offer any sound reason for refuting a late dating for the composition of the Fourth Gospel, because palaeography only proposes dates that are to be taken as fifty year spreads of time (±25; cf. E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* [ed. P.J. Parsons; BICS.S 46; 2nd ed.; London: University of London Press, Institute of Classical Studies, 1987], 20). See also Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 13: “Any exact dating of book hands is, or course, out of the question [...]”

¹⁹ The John Rylands University Library (see n. 16) itself still sticks to the “traditional” dating by Roberts. For an overview see K. Aland, ed., *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri I: Biblische Papyri: Altes Testament, Neues Testament, Varia, Apokryphen* (PTS 18; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976), NT 52 (282); Elliott/Parker, *The New Testament* (see n. 14), 17.

(b) the possibilities and pitfalls of proposed reconstructions will become (self-)evident. In the following, the relevant steps of a methodologically correct process of editing a papyrus are explained in easy terms that are of benefit for the purpose and the aims of this paper: to demonstrate the challenges and chances of restoring the text of fragmentary manuscripts.²⁰

In order to progress towards a restored text, a working transcription is produced. In other words, the letters are written down as they are preserved on the papyrus, certainly and legibly as well as in an uncertain and illegible manner. The edges of and gaps and holes in the papyrus are indicated by square parentheses (“[]”), so that everyone can easily identify where something is missing. Of course, such a draft transcription does not contain any word division (unless there are any in the text), but reproduces the text as it stands.²¹ In addition, the use of capital letters only (majuscles)²² without word division culminates in the production of a continuous block of writing, something unusual and hardly readable for modern people. The use of the letter “c” in the transcription indicates that the final reading might be either a medial *sigma* (i.e., “σ” at the beginning or in the middle of a word) or a final *sigma* (i.e., “ς” at the end of a word).²³ The dot below a letter indicates that it is uncertain and doubtful, but that the transcriber had found traces of ink left that encouraged him or her to propose the reading of a specific letter.²⁴ Hence, this might lead to a transcription of the majuscles in *scriptio continua* as follows:²⁵

²⁰ For documentary papyri see Bagnall, *Reading Papyri* (see n. 10), 29–31. In more detail, *ibid.*, “Restoring the text of documents,” *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 4 (1988) 109–119.

²¹ Cf. Turner, *Greek Papyri* (see n. 6), 71: “The system of giving a ‘diplomatic’ transcription worked out by Mr. E. Lobel imposes a sharper discipline. This transcription does not separate words, and follows exactly the layout of the original for spacings and interlinear additions, accents, critical marks, etc. It shows no letter as read which cannot be guaranteed. Ambiguous traces are described in the critical note. (...) One purpose of making such a transcript is to force the transcriber to discriminate between what he sees and what he would like to see, to call his attention to the subjective factor in decipherment, and to make him devise verifications for his readings.”

²² On the terms “majuscule” and “uncial” cf. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* (see n. 18), 1–4.

²³ I leave the technical description of ink traces and the potential reading of uncertain/doubtful letters out here, in order not to complicate matters unnecessarily.

²⁴ For a full explanation of the “Leiden system of transcription” see the titles referred to above in notes 6 and 8.

²⁵ Transcription and reconstruction according to the *editio princeps* by Roberts (see n. 14).

recto →	verso ↓
1 ΟΠΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙΗΜΕ[ΟΥΔΕΝΑΙΝΑΟΛΟ[ΠΕΝCΗΜΑΙΝΩ[ΘΝΗCΚΕΙΝΙC[	1]ΥΤΟΓ[.]ΓΕΝΝΗΜΑΙ]CΜΟΝΙΝΑΜΑΡΤΥ]ΕΚΤΗCΑΛΗΘΕ[]ΛΕΓΕΙΑΥΤΩ
5 ΠΙΟΝΟΠ[ΚΑΙΕΙΠ[[.]ΑΙΩ[.....	5]ΑΙΤΟΥΤΟ]ΤΟΥCΙΟ[]ΕΜΙ[.....

The majuscules (in *scriptio continua*) are to be converted into Greek lower case characters (minuscules) that are easier to read and can be furnished with all kinds of diacritical signs later on (for instance, with the diaeresis in line 2 of the recto and the verso).

recto →	verso ↓
1 οπιουδαιοιημε[ουδεναιναολο[πενχημαινω[θνησκεινις[	1]υτογ[.]γεννημαι]μονιναμαρτυ]εκτηαληθε[]λεγειαυτω
5 ριονοπ[καιειπ[[.]αιω[.....	5]αιτουτο]τουσιο[]εμι[.....

With this first transcription at hand, it is not difficult to identify complete words and to complete others tentatively. That leads to a more readable text version with some word divisions, complete words, and identified but not exactly reconstructed word forms. These “identified but not exactly reconstructed word forms” are not shown here, as their specific morphology in the special context under discussion cannot unambiguously be given in this step towards a reconstructed text. Consequently, some sequences of letters may remain unresolved (so far, for example, μαρτυ-, σημαίνω[, and αληθε).²⁶

recto →	verso
1 οι ιουδαιοι ημε[ις (?)	1]υτο γ[ε]γεννημαι

²⁶ For example, see *P.Berol.* 21263, an unpublished Christian text (sixth/seventh century CE) on two papyrus codex fragments with recto → line 1 (second column or right page):].ομουματωδωναρ[. Cf. G. Ioannidou, ed., *Catalogue of Greek and Latin Literary Papyri in Berlin* (*P.Berol.inv.* 21101–21299, 21911) (BKT IX; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), no. 167 (p. 207 and plate 71).

ουδενα ἵνα ο λογ[γοc	]cμον ἵνα μαρτυ-
πεν σημαίνω[	]εκ της αληθε[
θνησκειν ιc[	]λεγει αυτω
5 ριονοπ[	5]αι τουτο
και ειπ[εν	]τουc ιφ[
[.]αιω[	]εμι[
.....

Possibly on the basis of such or a similar transcription, Roberts identified the text on *P.Ryl.* III 457 as verses from the Gospel of John. His full reconstruction reads as follows, but needs some further explanation:

John 18:31–33 (recto →)

- 1 οι ἰουδαιοι ημε[ιν ουκ εξεστιν αποκτειναι]
ουδενα ἵνα ο λογ[γοc του ιησου πληρωθη ον ει-]
πεν σημαίνω[ν ποιω θανατω ημελλεν απο-]
θνησκειν ισ[ηλθεν ουκ παλιν ειc το πραιτω-]
 - 5 ριον ο π[(ε)ιλατοc και εφωνησεν τον ιησουν]
και ειπ[εν αυτω συ ει ο βασιλευc των ιου-]
[δ]αιω[ν απεκριθη ιησουc κτλ.
-

John 18:37–38 (verso ↓)

[βασι-]

- 1 [λευc ειμι εγω ειc το]υτο γ[ε]γεννημαι
[και <ειc τουτο> εληλυθα ειc τον κο]σμον ἵνα μαρτυ-
[ρησω τη αληθεια παc ο ων] εκ της αληθε[ι-]
[αc ακουει μου της φωνηc] λεγει αυτω
 - 5 [ο π(ε)ιλατοc τι εστιν αληθεια κ]αι τουτο
[ειπων παλιν εξηλθεν προς] τουc ιφ[υ-]
[δαιουc και λεγει αυτοιc εγω ουδ]εμι[αν]
-

Colin H. Roberts used “round brackets” to indicate “in this publication only—a letter whose presence or absence in the text is uncertain”²⁷ and not to differentiate between what is actually present on the papyrus and the “resolution of a symbol or abbreviation.”²⁸ For his reconstruction in the *editio princeps*, Roberts is dependant on assumptions as follows:

²⁷ Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 27.

²⁸ Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (see n. 6), 319 (inside of back cover). Further see Turner, *Greek Papyri* (see n. 6), 70 (“round parentheses” enclose “an expansion of an abbreviation”).

(a) He presumes two variant readings in John: For the position of *πάλιν* in John 18:33, he suggests the reading [*πάλιν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον*] ριον (recto ll. 4–5), which, according to Nestle-Aland²⁷ [NA²⁷], corresponds with $\mathfrak{P}^{66\text{vid}}$ B C* D^s L W Δ 0109 f¹³ 579. l 844 pc latt.²⁹ The reverse order (*εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον πάλιν*) is attested by $\mathfrak{P}^{60\text{vid}}$ \aleph A C² Θ (N Ψ) 087 f¹ \mathfrak{M} and *πάλιν*³⁰ is missing in 33 and 1424. In order to avoid a line of estimated “38 letters to the line in place of the average 29/30”, he suggests to “reckon with the omission of the repeated *εἰς τοῦτο*”, a reading of John 18:37 which then is “unsupported by any other MS.”³¹

(b) He identifies two instances of *itacism* and proposes a third one: (i) recto l. 1 reads *ημε*[, which could be completed as *ημε*[ις. For John 18:31, *ημι*[ν is needed. (ii) Recto l. 4 has *ις*[which must be *εἰς*[in order to achieve *εἰς[ῆλθεν*, as at the beginning of John 18:33. For Roberts it is obvious and seems to be incontrovertible that the orthography of the papyrus is the result of well-attested forms of *itacism*.³² Moreover, he reflects upon stichometry and the possibility of writing *Πειλάτος* (for *Πιλᾶτος*) in recto l. 5 and verso l. 5,³³ which itself would be another instance of *itacism* parallel to the one in recto l. 1 (*ημε*[ις for *ημι*[ν).

(c) Also based on stichometrical assumptions is Roberts' proposal to leave the forms of *Ἰησοῦς* in this papyrus unabbreviated.³⁴

Roberts himself explains his decision for these proposals. In the following, his explanations are briefly recapitulated and, if necessary, amplified by critical discussions and relevant data.

²⁹ Cf. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 29: “In placing *πάλιν* before *εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον*, our papyrus agrees with the Vaticanus, the Codex Ephraemi and the restored text of the Codex Bezae, some other MSS. and the Armenian and one of the Syrian versions (followed by the text of Westcott and Hort) [...]” See also R. Swanson, ed., *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines Against Codex Vaticanus: John* (Sheffield/UK: Sheffield Academic Press; Pasadena/USA: William Carey International University Press, 1995), 249 (John 18:33).

³⁰ Cf. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 29: “the reverse order is supported among MSS. by the Sinaiticus and the Alexandrinus, by the Gothic version and another Syriac version and is maintained by Tischendorf.”

³¹ Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 29.

³² See the evidence in E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit. Band I: Laut- und Wortlehre. 1. Teil: Einleitung und Lautlehre* (Bearb. v. H. Scholl; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1970) § 8.3 (pp. 60–65) and § 9.2 (pp. 66–70). Further see the relevant passages in F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. Vol. I: Phonology* (TDSA 55; Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino La Goliardica, 1976), 189–191. For Gignac (191) “[t]his confusion of *ει* and *ι* found already in some classical dialects, is paralleled throughout Koine Greek. There is no need to attribute the frequent representation of etymologically short *ι* by *ει* at this period to bilingual interference [...]”

³³ See Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 18 and 28.

³⁴ See Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 18–19 and 31–32.

(a) The variant readings do not cause much trouble as they refer to a minor textual unit³⁵ or a rather redundant word,³⁶ although other possibilities of reconstructing the text (e.g., without *πάλιν* [see above] as in the minuscule manuscripts 33 and 1424 [see NA²⁷]) must not be disregarded.³⁷

(b) The phenomenon of *itacistic* orthography seems to be such a regular and well-known one that it does not even require any explanation and justification.³⁸ The question, however, is whether two different phenomena of *itacistic* orthography—here ι instead of ει and ει instead of ι—can occur in the same manuscript.³⁹ Even a swift spot check of editions available to me, together with the help of the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (DDBDP),⁴⁰ provided a considerable sample of documents with ι for ει and ει for ι in the same document, sometimes even within the same line.⁴¹ Furthermore, the sample proves that ημειν for ἡμῖν was a rather

³⁵ Cf. Hurtado, “P⁵² (P.Rylands Gr 457)” (see n. 15), 1–14, here 3 n. 6, who reports about Roberts’ assumption in a very cautious way: “Roberts’ proposal has been commonly accepted that in the *verso* line 2 the words εις τουτο did not appear preceding εληλυθα, because with these words the line contain an estimated 38 letters, considerably longer than any of the estimates for the other *verso* lines (29, 30, 28, 31, 28, 31) [...] I do not judge this to be a conclusive argument, but it is certainly plausible.” Further see P.M. Head, “The Habits of New Testament Copyists: Singular Readings of the Early Fragmentary Papyris of John,” *Bib* 85 (2004) 399–408, here 401–402.

³⁶ Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 25 and 29.

³⁷ See, for instance, C.M. Tuckett, “P⁵² and *Nomina Sacra*,” *NTS* 47 (2001) 544–548, here 546 n. 13, who reflects on the possibility of assuming the definite article ὁ in *verso* l. 4 after αὐτω. Of course, as Tuckett notes, “[t]his would affect the numbers of letters in the lines a little.” Further see Tuckett, 547 n. 17: Tuckett writes ἐφώνησε in his reconstruction of *recto* l. 5, where Roberts has ἐφώνησεν. But also see C. Hill, “Did the Scribe of P⁵² Use the *Nomina Sacra*,” *NTS* 48 (2002) 589, who points out that end-ν is also present in Ν Α C W D L N Δ Ψ 33 124 579 1071.

³⁸ Cf. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 17 (“his orthography, apart from a couple of itacisms [...]”) and 18 (*passim*, referring to Πιλατός and Πειλάτος).

³⁹ I am indebted to my colleagues on the Papy-List (papy@listserv.hum.ku.dk) for their valuable comments and references, especially Peter Arzt-Grabner (Salzburg/Austria).

⁴⁰ Go to the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (DDBDP) at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/collection.jsp?collection=Perseus:collection:DDBDP> (last access 11/01/2009) to check the editions of papyri, ostraca and tablets available.

⁴¹ See, for example, *P.Alex.Giss.* 41.6 (117–118 CE; pap. ἐξελθιν for ἐξελθεῖν and ημειν for ἡμῖν); *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59243.6–7,7 (252 BCE; ελ[θ]|ιν for ἐλ[θ]|εῖν and εἰνα for ἴνα); *P.Hamb.* IV 278.28,29 (September 30, 190 CE; χαριν for χαῖρειν and υμειν for ὑμῖν); *P.Lond.* VI 1912.4,5,8,23 (41 CE; πολειν for πόλιν, πολεις for πόλεις, μεγαλιότητα for μεγαλειότηα, and υμειν for ὑμῖν); *P.Mich.* III 211.2,9 (II/III CE; χαριν for χαῖρειν and υμε[ι]ν for ὑμῖν); VIII 474.9,14 (II CE; ημειν for ἡμῖν and ελθιν for ἐλθεῖν); *P.Oxy.* I 67dupl (= 67A) lines 17 and 20 (338 CE; υμειν for ὑμῖν and επιφερν for ἐπιφέρειν); 119.3,9,15 (III CE; θελις for θέλεις, γεινετε for γίνεσθαι, and πεινω for πίνω); XIV 1677.2,7 (III CE; υγιαινιν for ὑγιαίνειν and ημειν for ἡμῖν); 1770.10,19 (III CE; υμειν for ὑμῖν and ελθιν for ἐλθεῖν); 1774.6 (IV CE; υγιαενιν sai ημειν for ὑγιαίνειν σε ἡμῖν); *PSI* IX 1019.3,6 (110 BCE; Πικωτι for Πικῶτει and λειτουργιας for λειτουργίας); *P.Tebt.* II 378 (265 CE; υμειν for ὑμῖν and προλ[ι]π[ι]ν for προλ[ι]π[ι]ν).

common case of *itacism*,⁴² so that the “Lex Youtie”—a rule commonly accepted in epigraphy and papyrology that sounds a note of caution in relation to potential alterations of letters directly next to holes (*lacunae*) or other distortions of a papyrus or an inscription (*iuxta lacunam ne mutaveris*)—need not and should not be applied here.⁴³ Furthermore, ιϛ[instead of εἰς[(for εἰς[ἦλθεν) appears to be unproblematic as well.⁴⁴ In addition, the *itacistic* spelling Πειλατος (for Πιλᾶτος) is attested by P⁶⁶ (= *P. Bodmer II*) in John 18:31, 38 and 19:4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 21, 22 (and maybe 19:15, 19) and by P⁹⁰ (= *P. Oxy. L 3523*) in John 18:37 and 19:1, so that P⁵² (= *P. Ryl. III 457*) is in good company. Apart from these two papyri, other manuscripts confirm Πειλατος as well, above all the codices Alexandrinus (A), Vaticanus (B*), Ephraemi (C*, C^c, i.e., in its original text and its corrected version), and Cantabrigiensis (D^{sup}), Freerianus (W), and Coridethianus (Θ).⁴⁵ So *itacism* does not really cause a problem here. However, it should be noted that ις[instead of εἰς[in compounds (then functioning as a prefix or pre-verb in εἰς[ἦλθεν) appears rather uncommon,⁴⁶ although *itacistic* orthography cannot always be systematized. Thus, ostensible random forms are not really methodically problematic,⁴⁷ as the spelling ις of the preposition εἰς proves⁴⁸ (cf., for instance, *P. Chester Beatty XII*, folio 4 verso l. 20 [Ps 77:48] and fol. 7 recto l. 4 [83:8];⁴⁹ Codex Sinaiticus [Ⲭ] in Matt 2:1; 20:17, 18; 21:1, 10 and

⁴² In addition to the relevant papyri in note 41 (with ημειν for ἡμῖν), see Gignac, *A Grammar* (see n. 32), 190 (b) with *P. Oxy. I 44.10* (late I CE); 46.23,27 (100 CE); 55.15 (283 CE); *P. Amh. II 133.10,21* (= *P. Sarap. 92*; early II CE).

⁴³ The rule is named after the papyrologist Herbert Chaim Youtie. Cf. R. Merkelbach, “Lex Youtie,” *ZPE* 38 (1980) 294. But it is not a claim to absolute right, so that there are certain exceptions of this rule as, for instance, obvious cases of *itacism*. See M. Fassino, “Sulla cosiddetta ‘lex Youtie’,” *Rivista di filologia e d’istruzione (RFIC)* 126 (1998) 72–75, who correctly calls for such exceptions.

⁴⁴ An *itacistic* orthography for this verb was not rare, although references do not attest ις[ἦλθεν but mostly ελθιν for ἐλθεῖν. See, for instance, *P. Alex. Giss. 41.6* (117–118 CE), *P. Mich. VIII 474.14* (II CE), *P. Oxy. XIV 1770* (III CE), and *P. Cair. Zen. II 59243.6–7* (III BCE). References for *itacistic* ις for εἰς (also as ις- for εἰς-), however, are missing in Mayser, *Grammatik* (see n. 32), § 8.3 (pp. 60–65).

⁴⁵ For an easy and swift overview of the relevant readings in John, see Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: John* (see n. 29) for Πειλᾶτος/Πιλᾶτος in John 18:29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 38; 19:1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 15, 19, 21, 22, 31, 38.

⁴⁶ Cf. n. 44. There is no other manuscript that attests such an *itacistic* form (ις[) in John 18:33, according to Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: John* (see n. 29), 249.

⁴⁷ Cf. the many phenomena (for εἰ and εἰ) described and listed in Mayser, *Grammar* (see n. 32), especially § 8 (54–65) and § 9 (65–70); Gignac, *A Grammar* (see n. 32), 189–191, 249–259.

⁴⁸ I am grateful to colleagues on the Papy-List (papy@listserv.hum.ku.dk) and B-Greek (B-Greek@lists.ibiblio.org) for providing references, especially Albert Pietersma (Toronto/Canada), Basil G. Mandilaras (Athens/Greece), Randall Buth (Jerusalem/Israel) and Jonathan C. Borland (Lakeland/Florida).

⁴⁹ Cf. A. Pietersma, *Two Manuscripts of the Greek Psalter in the Chester Beatty Library Dublin* (AnBib77; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978) 23 and 30. In an e-mail dated

passim; *P.Yadin* 52 l. 9;⁵⁰ many non-literary papyri, such as *BGU* I 15i.10; III 790.3; *P.Oxy.* XII 1475.13; XIV 1641.13; *P.Mich.* V 353.8; VIII 498.10; 499.7; 501.19).⁵¹ In sum, ιϛ[for εῖς[is extraordinary, because εϛ- for εῖς- seems to have been more common.⁵² But it fits well in the context of the diverse phenomena of *itacism*.

(c) Unfortunately, the papyrus fragment does not preserve any instance of a *nomen sacrum*, so that Roberts had to cope with the issue of the potential forms of Ἰησοῦς in recto ll. 2, 5 and 7. With special regard to l. 5, Roberts concluded that Ἰησοῦν there would prolong the line so that it would consist of 32 letters, or even 33 if the *itacistic* spelling Πειλάτος (for Πιλάτος) were accepted. A contracted form τ̄ν would reduce the number of letters in this line to 28. The same seems true for the suspension τ̄η: “there would be only 28 letters, whereas the average number of letters per line for the four lines where no possible *nomina sacra* are to be supplied, is 33.”⁵³ For Roberts, stichometry and the dating of *P.Ryl.* III 457 are two significant parameters for his further considerations and conclusions, so that he prefers the unabbreviated *nomen sacrum* to the contracted or suspended versions.⁵⁴ Apparently, Roberts changed his view of *nomina sacra*, their development and their date later on, by claiming that “the system did not grow up piecemeal but was originally laid down from a single centre. What is clear is that, as far as concerns the four primary words, the abbreviations occur, with such rare exceptions as to be insignificant in written material of all kinds from the earliest period of which we have evidence, the first half of the second century; their universality is as striking as their antiquity.”⁵⁵ By “abbreviations”, he denotes the practice of shortening specific words as

15/01/2009, Albert Pietersma confirmed that “the phenomenon EI > I occurs 113x in this fourth century papyrus.”

⁵⁰ *P.Yadin* 52 = *papyrus letter Greek Yadin* 52 (5/6Hev 52) = grSK 3 (Greek Simon Kosiba). This is one of the two Greek letters that belong to the Bar Kosiba Letters (eight Aramaic, five Hebrew and two Greek letters) found in the so-called “Cave of the Letters” in 1960. See the editions and discussions by B. Lifshitz, “Papyrus grecs du desert de Juda,” *Aeg* 42 (1962) 240–258; H. Lapin, “Palm fronds and citrons: Notes on two letters from Bar Kosiba’s administration,” *HUCA* 64 (1993) 111–135; G.W. Nebe, “Die beiden griechischen Briefe des Jonatan Archivs in Engedi aus dem zweiten jüdischen Aufstand 132–135 nach Chr.,” *RevQ* 17 (1996) 275–288.

⁵¹ For these and additional papyri with ιϛ for εῖς see Gignac, *A Grammar* (see n. 32), 189 (B1a).

⁵² Gignac, *A Grammar* (see n. 32), 258: “Note. εῖς is the normal spelling in the papyri, but εῖς occurs occasionally, including in compounds, exclusively in ἔσωθεν.” Cf. the papyri mentioned there and in the index (344).

⁵³ Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 18. Besides, he briefly discusses τ̄ην (as found in the Chester Beatty papyri).

⁵⁴ Cf. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 17–19; id., *Catalogue* (see n. 13), 1–3.

⁵⁵ C.H. Roberts, “*Nomina Sacra*: Origins and Significance,” in *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt; The Schweich Lectures 1977* (ed. C.H. Roberts; London: Oxford University Press, 1979), 26–48, here 28. However, Roberts himself notes exceptions

contractions or suspensions. Consequently then, for Roberts, in contrast to what he claimed in his editions of *P.Ryl.* III 457,⁵⁶ the classic forms—or, according to Roberts, “the four primary words”—“θεός, κύριος, Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός” are regularly contracted.”⁵⁷ On the basis of Roberts’ original proposal, Christopher M. Tuckett suggests that the forms of Ἰησοῦς in *P.Ryl.* III 457 were written in full, so that the reconstructed text should contain the full form thrice.⁵⁸ His hypothesis produced strong reactions from Christopher E. Hill and Larry W. Hurtado, who both favour abbreviated forms in support of Roberts’ later view.⁵⁹ “*Nomina sacra*” are a complex and controversial subject. Of course, its unresolved problems can neither be addressed here nor satisfyingly sorted out in this study,⁶⁰ which focuses on something else, i.e. reconstructing texts and the resulting chances and limitations. It appears as if there was a certain convention about how to abbreviate some specific *nomina sacra*. Consequently, it might be correct to assume contracted or suspended *nomina sacra* for *P.Ryl.* III 457. Furthermore, a look at the earliest Christian manuscripts and the policy of writing specific words (especially θεός, κύριος, Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός) in a special way (i.e., abbreviated or unabbreviated), seems to make the assumption of an abbreviated form of Ἰησοῦς more plausible than an unabbreviated one.⁶¹ Nevertheless, the existence of full forms of Ἰησοῦς in the reconstructed parts cannot entirely be ruled out, and remains an alternative.⁶²

As indicated above,⁶³ there might be other possibilities of reconstructing the text of *P.Ryl.* III 457 (P⁵²):

to the asserted “universality” and discusses them briefly (cf. Roberts, “*Nomina Sacra*”, 38–39 and 83–84 [Appendix V: “*Nomina sacra: some eccentric forms*”]).

⁵⁶ See notes 13 and 14 above.

⁵⁷ Roberts, “*Nomina Sacra*” (see n. 55), 38. For Ἰησοῦς Roberts states that “there is no certain instance of the name in its sacral sense being left uncontracted in any text of the New Testament or indeed in any book as distinct from occasional and private papers.”

⁵⁸ Cf. Tuckett, “P⁵² and *Nomina Sacra*” (see n. 37), 544–548.

⁵⁹ Cf. Hill, “Did the Scribe of P⁵² Use the *Nomina Sacra*?” (see n. 37), 587–592; Hurtado, “P⁵² (P.Rylands Gr 457)” (see n. 15), 1–14.

⁶⁰ For the most relevant literature on the topic see L.W. Hurtado, “The Origin of the *Nomina Sacra*: A Proposal,” *JBL* 117 (1998) 655–673; C.M. Tuckett, “*Nomina Sacra*: Yes and No?”, in *The Biblical Canons* (ed. J.-M. Auwers and H.J. de Jonge; BETL 158; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 431–458.

⁶¹ I avoid a reference to “probability” here (see the title of Hurtado’s study in n. 15 above and Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* [see n. 14], 18: “but the probability is that the *nomina* [or at least Ἰησοῦς] were uncontracted in this text”). For relevant statements about (mathematically correct) relations of probability, the sample available appears (a) rather small and (b) not unequivocal enough. Besides, every (mathematical) calculation of probabilities contains the possibility of the occurrence of improbable incidents or cases, so that the unlikelihood cannot entirely be ruled out. For general thoughts about the category of “probability” and papyrology, see Kraus, “7Q5” (see n. 4), 257–258 (English version 248–249).

⁶² Cf. Hill, “Did the Scribe of P⁵² Use the *Nomina Sacra*?” (see n. 37), 592: “Neither possibility can be ruled out.”

⁶³ See, for example, ἐφώνησε (Tuckett) instead of ἐφώνησεν (Roberts). Cf. n. 37. Further see Tuckett, “P⁵² and *Nomina Sacra*” (see n. 37), 548, about the position of καί in recto l. 6.

(a) Additional variants in John 18:31–33 and 18:37–38:

- i. 18:31—additional *τινα* in Θ (ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔξεστιν *τίνα* ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα)
- ii. 18:32—additional *ὦ* in 69 (ποίη θανάτω *ὦ* ἤμελλεν ἀποθνήσκειν)
- iii. 18:33—no *οὖν* in 788 (εἰσηλθεν *πάλιν* εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον)
- iv. 18:37—additional second *ἐγώ*, among others, in A K M N U W Γ Δ Θ Λ Π 118 700 ℳ lat (ὅτι βασιλεύς εἰμι *ἐγώ*. *ἐγώ*...)
- v. 18:37—prepositional phrase in *ℵ** (ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας)
- vi. 18:37—additional *οὖν* and μου τοὺς λόγους instead of μου τῆς φωνῆς in 118 (πᾶς *οὖν* ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκούει μου τοὺς λόγους)
- vii. 18:38—πειλάτος/πιλάτος without preceding article *ὁ* in *℘*⁶⁶
- viii. 18:38—additional article in *f*¹ (τί ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια;)

Of course, most of these variants cause line lengths that are too long and cannot be reconciled with the position of the letters preserved on the papyrus. However, they show that variations existed; and as a non-attested variant is presumed in form of the omission of the second *εἰς τοῦτο* in verso l. 2 (and as the omission of the second *εἰς τοῦτο* in verso l. 2 is presumed as a non-attested variant, similar possibilities might be possible, too, for example, a missing article or a variation in word order).⁶⁴ To put it bluntly, I do not regard any of these variant readings as serious alternatives to the reconstructed text of *P.Ryl.* III 457 (*℘*⁵²), that is—legitimately—commonly accepted. Nonetheless, these variants and the clear potential for non-attested variants should make us aware that the reconstruction is a hypothesis, though a very good one.

(b) Alternative suggestions of identifying the text or individual passages:

In 1989, Andreas Schmidt tentatively suggested identifying recto l. 1 with John 19:7, an assumption he did not follow up later on. The strength of Schmidt's suggestion is to take *ημε[* as it is preserved by the papyrus, so that the Jews would talk in the first person plural about the law (*νόμος*). For Schmidt, *P.Ryl.* III 457 may have a mixture of John 19:7 and 18:31 here, into which Pilate would fit well.⁶⁵ However, producing a reconstruction reconciling these two texts with the letters preserved by the papyrus would be a real challenge. Be that as it may, mixed texts from known textual material will have a significant role later in chapter 2.2.

⁶⁴ As examples of the latter see *καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἐξῆλθεν πάλιν* in 579 and *καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἀπῆλθε πάλιν* in 157.

⁶⁵ See Schmidt, "Zwei Anmerkungen" (see n. 18), 11–12.

All in all, although Roberts' identification and reconstruction are commonly accepted, and rightly so, his confidence in stichometry is not that deep as it might appear from his edition. Of course, he regarded stichometry as a sort of control mechanism for reconstructions, but did not apply it as something dogmatic.⁶⁶ Furthermore, Roberts was fully aware of the shortcomings every reconstruction of lost textual units offers and warns his readers: "[...] we must reckon with the possibility of varieties of spelling or text in the missing passages."⁶⁷ Besides, it is obvious that stichometry "is clearly not an exact science," as Christopher Tuckett says,⁶⁸ and it cannot be such. In respect of characters formed by a scribe's hand and different styles of writing, there is the distinction between small and wide letters and/or at the same time some sort of spacing (for example, due to word division or the condition of the writing material).⁶⁹ Both unfortunately and fortunately, we do not deal with the automated work of a word processor program or printing machine, but with human beings, even if professional scribes performed at an astounding level of accuracy and regularity. Consequently, there are many variables at work, so that even the reconstruction of a known text (and sometimes also its identification in the first place), no matter how concise it may be and methodically sound it is done, always contains some imponderability, and thus remains—at least in some respect—tentative and speculative. Nonetheless, every conclusion drawn from the reconstruction itself remains arguable, and scholars must be aware that it is formed on shaky ground. So, a reconstruction represents an interim solution that must be open to change.

2.1.2 *The interim and snap-shot nature of reconstructions: the story of P.Rain.Cent. 24*

Although the reconstruction of a text (and its identification) may be methodically sound and plausible, as it is the case with *P.Ryl. III 457* (P⁵²), it is always tentative and just a snapshot. In other words, alternatives of how to identify and reconstruct a text can only rarely be ruled out completely and must not be ignored. The example of *P.Rain.Cent. 24*⁷⁰ is most

⁶⁶ See Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), especially 18–22.

⁶⁷ Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment* (see n. 14), 19.

⁶⁸ Tuckett, "P⁵² and *Nomina Sacra*" (see n. 37), 547. Further see Hurtado, "P⁵² (P.Rylands Gr 457)" (see n. 15), 10–11: "[...] it is easy to demonstrate the danger of expecting too much regularity in the number of characters per line." Hurtado aims at the regularity of a scribe's hand and conclusions from that about reliable statements in respect of stichometry (also see Hurtado, 11 n. 31).

⁶⁹ In relation to *P.Ryl. III 457* Hill, "Did the Scribe of P⁵² Use the *Nomina Sacra*?" (see n. 37), 589, reflects upon *P.Egerton 2* in this respect.

⁷⁰ *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.)* (Vienna: Hollinek, 1983) no. 24 (268) and plate 47.

30465, as belonging together with *P.Vindob.G* 29525. Consequently, the papyrus was then 7 cm high and 6.7 cm wide so that Sanz calculated its original size as 8 cm high and 15 cm wide.⁷⁵ Still he referred to the preserved parts of the papyrus as an “amulet”, especially in comparison with *PERF* 528,⁷⁶ so that he took the common size of the two papyri as a criterion for that classification, though *PERF* 528 was folded. Again Sanz could supply a convincing and coherent reconstruction of Psalm 9:22–25 (10:1–4), but, of course, the distribution of letters and words per line differed from his first edition.⁷⁷

recto →

1 [† ινα τι κε αφεστηκας μαροθεν υπερορας εν ευ]
[κ]αιριαις [εν θλιψει εν τω υπερηφανευεσθαι τον]
[α]βεβη εγπυριζε[ται ο πτωχος συλλαμβανον]
[τ]αι εν διαβουλοις ος [διαλογιζονται οτι επαι]

5 νειται ο αμαρτωλος [εν ταις επιθυμιας της]
ψυχης αυτου και ο α[δικων ενευλογει]αι
παρωξυνεν τον κν ρ [αμαρτωλος κ]ατα το
πληθος της οργης α[υτου ουκ εκζητ]ησει //
ςςςςςςςςςςςςςςςςςςςς[.....]ςςςςςςςς

l. 3: pap. ενπυριζεται, Rahlfs έμπυρίζεται

l. 9: ςςςςςςςς (according to Sanz) indicate a sequence of virgulae in the function of an end strip.

Verso ↓ (blank)

However, Carl Wessely had already edited the papyrus fragment *P.Vindob.G* 39786 with Psalm 9:19–22 as *Stud.Pap.* XV 234 in 1914. Neither he nor Sanz noticed that the fragments they had worked on were actually scraps of the same page of one and the same manuscript. Only in 1973 were the fragments identified as belonging together and assigned to each other. This

⁷⁵ Cf. P. Sanz, *Griechische literarische Papyri christlichen Inhalts I* (MPER NS IV; Baden/Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1946), no. V (19–20).

⁷⁶ *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer: Führer durch die Ausstellung. Mit 20 Tafeln und 90 Textbildern* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1894), no. 528 (124–125, with an illustration on page 124; cf. 125): “Der Papyrus war, wie man namentlich auf der Rückseite sieht, vielfach gefaltet, und zwar erst in fünf Streifen der Länge, dann in sieben der Breite nach, so dass er etwa 2.5 cm hoch, 2 cm breit war.” (“The papyrus was folded several times, as can be seen on its reverse side, namely in five strips vertically, and then in seven horizontally, so that it was 2.5 cm high and 2 cm wide.”) This papyrus is *P.Vindob.G Inv. Nr.* 8023, which is catalogued today as *P.Vindob.G* 2312. Cf. the colour image in J. Schefzyk, ed., *Alles ECHT: Älteste Belege zur Bibel aus Ägypten* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), no. 16 (93).

⁷⁷ Transcription according to Sanz, *Griechische literarische Papyri* (see n. 75), no. V (20), with c for ς but without verse divisions (/).

is indicated by a brief note placed next to the original fragments under glass plate in the Vienna papyrus collection. In September 1975 and in March 1978, two unpublished fragments were identified as further parts of the same page (*P.Vindob.G* 30849 with Psalm 9:16–22 and *P.Vindob.G* 40405 with Psalm 9:12–?), so that in 1983 Kurt Treu could publish the whole compilation as “LXX, Psalm 9, 12–25 auf Einzelblatt” (*P.Rain.Cent.* 24).

Nowadays, visitors of the Vienna papyrus collection find a papyrus that is 18.5 cm high and 14.5 cm wide, dated to the fifth century and found in Hermupolis Magna in 1886 (*P.Vindob.G* 29525 + 30465 + 30893 + 39786 + 40405), with a few scribbles on the verso.⁷⁸ With Treu’s edition it has become evident that this single leaf (with a few scribbles on the verso) is not an amulet. Page dimensions, the absence of folding, the upright but slightly to the right sloping book hand, the correct orthography, and the lack of variant readings (with the exception of ἐνπυρίζεται) convincingly support this decision. Unfortunately, the realization that the papyrus is not an amulet *and* that the single fragments belong together did not find their way into the repertories of Joseph van Haelst and Kurt Aland, though the process towards it had already started before their publication in 1976. They list *P.Vindob.G* 29252 (+ 30465) and 39786 as two separate entries,⁷⁹ as is done in the standard repertory of Greek manuscripts of the Old Testament.⁸⁰ For the sake of completeness, with the online *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab>; last access 25/02/2009) there is a tool available that lists *P.Rain.Cent.* 24 as what it is today (no. 3295): a papyrus sheet or roll with Psalm 9:12–14, 16–25.

However, what is more important for the present topic is the fact that Peter Sanz masterfully edited and reconstructed the papyrus fragment *P.Vindob.G* 29525, although it turned out that the reconstruction had to be altered in relation to line length and letter distribution per line after *P.Vindob.G* 30465 was identified. Nevertheless, Sanz could prove his

⁷⁸ But see Schefzyk, *Alles ECHT* (see n. 76), no 22 (96): “26 × 20 cm”, which refers to the reconstructed original dimension of a leaf. It cannot be ruled out that the piece is a fragment from a roll. In addition, the scribe ended the text abruptly in the midst of Psalm 9:25 and the page with *virgulae* as an end strip, so that it can be concluded that the scribe regarded the text on the papyrus as complete. Further, see Kraus, “Amulette” (see n. 71), 434.

⁷⁹ This is not meant as a reproach. Both repertories offer so many indispensable details that the expectation of one hundred percent accuracy and completeness is an utopian one. See K. Aland, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri I* (PTS 18, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976), AT 49 and Var. 6; J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série «Papyrologie» 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976), nos. 104 and 105.

⁸⁰ Cf. A. Rahlfs and D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments. Bd. I,1: Die Überlieferung bis zum VII. Jahrhundert* (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate editum Supplementum I,1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004) 416–417 and 428–429.

brilliant skill again, and reconstructed the text of Psalm 9:22–25 anew according to the new size of the papyrus and its estimated page dimension. Both reconstructions provide a high degree of plausibility, but proved to be intermediary stages only. But at the time Sanz was editing and re-editing the fragments available to him, the reconstructions were state-of-the-art and he could not have done any better.

2.2 Unidentified fragments: plausible compilations of known and unknown texts or a tentative jigsaw puzzles?

2.2.1 A “Christian Fragment”⁸¹—P.Mert. II 51

Unfortunately, the interesting papyrus fragment *P.Mert. II 51*, kept in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, has not attracted much attention since its first edition.⁸² In 1959, Brinley Roderick Rees published the small fragment that is 5.3 cm high and 3.9 cm wide. He estimated the original size of the codex leaf as 9.9×8.8 cm⁸³ and the average line-length to “rather less than thirty letters.”⁸⁴ The two sides of the papyrus sheet can be read (on) as follows:⁸⁵

recto →	verso ↓
-----	-----
1]ορκαιοιτελω[	1]ρουπροφερ[
]αιωσαντονθν	]φερενωσεκπ[
]αμαρτιασεαυτων	ρονκαιοτεαποσ[
]υκεβαπτισαντο	θουθησαυρουτη[
5]ληντουθν	5 απολλυτ[
]υηθετησαν	]τησουκαρ[
]αθετει	]ουποιειτε[
]εταυτο[	]ουλεγ[
-----	-----

l. 7: pap. αθετει:

The scribe enlarged some initial letters (recto ll. 3–5) and apparently tended to leave clearly visible gaps between words here and there, some of which

⁸¹ Title according to Rees, “51. Christian Fragment” (see n. 11), 1–4 (with plate I).

⁸² The following is a condensed version of the detailed treatment in T.J. Kraus, “Other Gospel Fragments: 4. *P.Mert. 51*,” in *Gospel Fragments* (ed. T.J. Kraus/M.J. Kruger, T. Nicklas; OECGT; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 252–263 (description, transcription, English translation, discussion, and bibliography) and plates 12–13.

⁸³ Cf. Rees, “51. Christian Fragment” (see n. 11), 1: “then quite a half of its height has been lost, and about seven to eight lines are missing at all.”

⁸⁴ Rees, “51. Christian Fragment” (see n. 11), 1.

⁸⁵ In order to avoid at least some redundancy I skip the first step (majuscles in *scriptio continua*) and proceed with what Brinley Roderick Rees himself started, too.

might indicate the end of a section or a paragraph (recto l. 1 before καί, l. 2 before and after τον θν, l. 5 before and after του θν, l. 6 between υ and ηθετησαν, l. 7 after αθετει and double-point; verso l. 2 between φερειν and ως, l. 3 before καί, l. 6 between της and ουκ) and can consequently be taken as a *spatium* or belonging to a *paragraphos*. These particularities alleviate the task of identifying words and phrases.

<p>-----</p> <p>1]ος και οι τελω[]αιωσαν τον <u>θν</u>]αμαρτιας εαυτων]υκ εβαπτισαντο</p> <p>5]λην του <u>θν</u>]υ ηθετησαν]αθετει]ετ αυτο[</p> <p>-----</p>	<p>-----</p> <p>1]ρου προφερ[]φερειν ως εκ π[ρον και οτε απος[θου θησαυρου τη[</p> <p>5 απολλυτ[]της ουκ αρ[]ου ποιειτε[]ου λεγ[</p> <p>-----</p>
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

l. 7: pap. αθετει:

It is not clear whether recto actually preceded verso and how much text has been lost, as the top and bottom margin are missing. Besides, the lines do not end evenly (cf. the right margin on recto ll. 2–7), but possibly the line-beginnings do (cf. verso ll. 3–5). In spite of these imponderables, Rees succeeded in reconstructing texts for the recto and the verso in his *editio princeps* by searching for allusions to and potential parallels with known texts. The recto offers some keywords—ἀμαρτία (“sin”), [βου]λήν(?) τοῦ θεοῦ (“purpose, intention, plan of God”), βαπτίζω (“baptize”), and ἀθετέω (“reject, refuse, ignore”)—as does the verso—προφέρω (“produce, bring out”), θησαυρός (“treasure, store”), ἀπόλλυμι (“perish, be lost, be ruined”), and ποιέω as imperative ποιείτε. What comes to mind are, above all, Luke 7:30 (οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ νομικοὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἠθέτησαν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς μὴ βαπτισθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.) and 6:45 with the only occurrence of the compound προφέρω in the New Testament (ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ **θησαυροῦ** τῆς καρδίας **προφέρει** τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ **προφέρει** τὸ πονηρόν·), so that one may think of the parable of the good and the bad fruit (Luke 6:43–46) for the verso (also see *GosThom* 45 and *P.Oxy.* II 210 ↓ ll. 13–17). Rees made use of some more passages of the New Testament in order to reconstruct the recto and verso of the small fragment in a plausible way.⁸⁶ Consequently, the reconstructions

⁸⁶ Rees mentions Luke 7:29, 1 John 1:9, Luke 7:30, 1 Cor 10:2, Mark 6:26, 7:9, and Luke 7:36 for the recto and Luke 6:45, Matt 12:35, Luke 6:46, and Acts 21:38 for the verso. Cf. Rees, “51. Christian Fragment” (see n. 11), 3–4.

cannot be regarded as other than tentative and hypothetical from the very beginning, as they do not represent any attested text and are actually new creations.

recto →

-
- 1 [καὶ πᾶς ὁ λα]ὸς καὶ οἱ τελεῶ[ναι]
[ἀκούσαντες ἐδικ]αίωσαν τὸν θ(εὸ)ν
[ὁμολογῶντες τὰς] ἁμαρτίας ἑαυτῶν.
[οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ο]ὐκ ἐβαπτίσαντο
- 5 [ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου τὴν δὲ βου]λὴν τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ
[καὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θ(εο)]ῦ ἠθέτησαν
[(?) ὡσαύτως ὁ θ(εὸς) αὐτοῦς] ἀθετεῖ
[ἡρώτα δὲ αὐτὸν Φαρισαῖος μ]ετ' αὐτο[ῦ]
[φαγεῖν(?).]
-

Potential parallels and/or allusions:

II. 1–3(5): Luke 7:29; **I. 3:** 1 John 1:9; **II. 4–7:** Luke 7:30 (and 1 Cor 10:2);

I. 6: Mark 7:9; **I. 8:** Luke 7:36

verso ↓

-
- [...(?)] ὁ γὰρ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ]
- 1 [πονη]ρῶν προφέ[ων καρπὸν πονηρὸν προ-]
[έ]φερεν ὡς ἐκ π[ονηροῦ πονηρὸν δένδ-]
ρον. καὶ ὅτε ἀποσ[τέλλετε ἐκ τοῦ ἀγα-]
θοῦ θησαυροῦ τῇ[ς καρδίας ἀγαθὰ οὐκ]
- 5 ἀπόλλυτ[αι ὁ ἀγαθὸς καρπὸς]
[αὐ]τῆς. οὐκ ἄρ[α ἐμὲ καλεῖτε κ(ύρι)ε κ(ύρι)ε]
[καὶ] οὐ ποιεῖτε [ἅ λέγω οὐδὲ τοῦ προ-]
[φήτ]ου λέγ[οντος ἀκούετε(?)]
-

Potential parallels and/or allusions:

II. 2–4: Luke 6:45 // Matt 12:35 (Q 4:45); *GosThom* 45; *P.Oxy.* II 210 (↓
II. 13–17); **I. 6:** Acts 21:38; **II. 6–7:** Luke 6:46 (Q 4:46)

Rees fulfilled his task of editing and supplying the reader with a sound reconstruction in an impressive way. He even tried to keep stichometry in mind (see above, “rather less than thirty letters” per line) and so he coped with the major problems of the missing top and bottom margin, the partial presence of only one side margin, and the obviously uneven line endings. The characters were written by a scribe whose hand is “informal and rather irregular and slopes slightly” and they are irregular in width, something

that makes the job of reconstructing what is missing even harder. But at the same time Rees restored an unknown text (or maybe even two) by means of known literary material, in other words, a unique text that was previously unknown to us is not only reconstructed on the basis of known allusions and parallels, it even becomes something known itself by that procedure.⁸⁷ However, what else should Rees have done? Isn't it an editor's "natural" desire to crave for a restoration of the text of a fragment he or she edits?

All things considered, Rees could not make a suggestion of how to fill the gap between recto and verso (or verso and recto) in a reasonable way. The codex-leaf may once have belonged to a longer exegetical or homiletic composition (potential interpolation in recto l. 7 and shift of tenses in verso ll. 1–3), but it may also have been part of an uncanonical gospel with strong affinities to the Gospel of Luke. As noted above, the reconstruction itself created a text that is not extant, so that hypotheses should not be built upon it, for "[T]he reconstruction should not become the text itself; the Pharisees, for example [...] are only there because of the reconstruction."⁸⁸ Unfortunately, scholars regularly turn a deaf ear to such and similar warnings and they do not exercise caution when writing about restored texts. "Anything put on the page as a restoration is almost certain to wind up being used by some later scholar or, just as bad, the presence of restoration will lead to the entire text's being discounted."⁸⁹ It might be debatable whether or not it is an editor's responsibility to foresee such misuse and to guard the edited text against it.⁹⁰

2.2.2 *The "Fayûm Fragment"*—P.Vindob.G 2325

The small scrap of papyrus *P.Vindob.G* 2325 is only 3.5 cm high and 4.3 cm wide and is blank on the verso, so that it may have been part of a roll.⁹¹ Its

⁸⁷ For these aspects I am obliged to Rachel Yuen-Collingridge, Macquarie University, and her paper "The Interpretation of Unidentified Theological Papyri", which she sent me far prior its publication in the present volume.

⁸⁸ D. Lührmann, *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache* (MTS 59; Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 2000) 155: "Die Rekonstruktion darf jedoch nicht zum Text werden, z.B. kommen die Pharisäer [...] nur über die Rekonstruktion herein." Translation from Kraus, "Other Gospel Fragments: 4. *P.Mert.* 51" (see n. 82) 260 n. 6.

⁸⁹ Bagnall, "Restoring the Text of Documents" (see n. 7), 113, and idem, *Reading Papyri* (see n. 10), 31.

⁹⁰ Cf. the dictum by Bagnall, *Reading Papyri* (see n. 10), 31: "Considerable caution is therefore required of the editor, and the 'purely illustrative' or 'exempli gratia' restorations beloved of editors belong in the notes, where they can be read for what they are, not in the text."

⁹¹ For the following I rely on my own treatment of *P.Vindob.G* 2325, the "Fayûm Fragment," in Kraus, "Other Gospel Fragments: 1. *P.Vindob.G* 2325: The 'Fayûm Fragment'" (see n. 82), 219–227 and plate 9.

publication in 1885⁹² caused a temporary stir, which rapidly died down. Only after Dieter Lührmann carefully suggested that *P.Vindob.G* 2325 should be considered as a potential witness to the *Gospel of Peter*,⁹³ interest in this papyrus, the so-called “Fayûm Fragment”, arose anew. The fragment was discovered in the middle of a layer of papyri that stem from a time before the reign of Diocletian. By taking this together with palaeographical criteria the papyrus is dated to the third century, perhaps towards its beginning, and could originate from the Herakleopolite nome. The text as preserved offers some striking features (see below).

The case of *P.Vindob.G* 2325 itself, though very similar to that of *P.Mert.* II 51 at first glance, turns out to be different on closer inspection. There is no margin left, which complicates the restoration of the text. Moreover, the fragment is blank on the verso, so that there are no further characters that might have provided additional information about the lacunose text on the recto or the missing portions of the seven lines preserved. Nonetheless, even the preserved characters provide some difficulties. In a series of publications Gustav Bickell changed his reading of the first line from φαγεινωσεξηγονπα[to φαγεινωσεξεθουσπα],⁹⁴ and finally to λαγεινωσασυτωσπα].⁹⁵ But Bickell did not differentiate between certain and uncertain letters. Although Carl Wessely corrected the first line to]ξεγεινωσ.....οτια[rather early in time, a reading that I confirmed in my own work on the papyrus in Vienna,⁹⁶ Bickell’s revised reading—φαγεινωσεξεθουσπα[—is still the model for some

⁹² Cf. the *editio princeps* by G. Bickell, “Ein Papyrusfragment eines nichtkanonischen Evangeliums,” *ZKT* 9 (1885) 498–504. For more details see the reedition by T.J. Kraus, “P.Vindob.G 2325: Das sogenannte Fayûm-Evangelium—Neuedition und kritische Rückschlüsse,” *ZAC/JAC* 5 (2001) 197–212, and, with addendum, idem, “P.Vindob.G 2325: The So-called Fayûm-Gospel—Reedition and Some Critical Conclusions,” in *Ad Fontes: Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity—Selected Essays* (ed. T.J. Kraus; TENT 3; Leiden: Brill, 2007) 69–94; S.E. Porter and W.J. Porter, *New Testament Greek Papyri and Parchments: New Editions* (2 vols.: Texts & Plates; MPER XXIX & XXX; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 291–294 (no. 62).

⁹³ Cf. Lührmann, *Fragmente* (see n. 88), 73–74 and 80–81. Further see idem, “Petrus als Evangelist—ein bemerkenswertes Ostrakon,” *NovT* 43 (2001) 357 and 364; idem, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien: Studien zu neuen Texten und neuen Fragen* (NovTSup 112; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 87–90. But, as Lührmann himself states (Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien*, 89 n. 103), this connection had already been made by Gustav Bickell (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer: Führer durch die Ausstellung* [see n. 76], no. 541).

Personally, I have reservations about this suggestion because of papyrological aspects. See Kraus, “Other Gospel Fragments: 1. *P.Vindob.G* 2325: The ‘Fayûm Fragment’” (see n. 82), 221 and 225.

⁹⁴ Cf. G. Bickell, “Zum Evangelienfragment Raineri,” *MPER* 2–3 (1887) 41 (φαγειν ὡς ἐξ ἐθους).

⁹⁵ Cf. G. Bickell, “Ein letztes Wort über das Papyrus-Evangelium,” *MPER* 5 (1892) 79 (λαγειν ὡσαύτως).

⁹⁶ Cf. C. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus I* (PO 4.2; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1906), 174.

collections and translations. Here is the transcription in *scriptio continua* but in Greek lower case characters (minuscules):

recto →

-
 1]ξαγεινωc ±5 .τι.[
]τηνυκτικανδαλιc[
]τογραφενπαταξωτον[
]προβαταδιασκορπισθηc[
 5]υπετκαιειπαντεco[
].αλεκτρωνδισκοκ[
]πα .υ[

l. 5: pap. πῆτ

Some words can easily be determined so that adding word divisions is a facile job.

recto →

- 1]ξαγειν ωc ±5 .τι.[
]τη νυκτι κανδαλιc[
]το γραφεν παταξω τον[
]προβατα διασκορπισθηc[
 5]υ πετ και ει παντεc ο[
].αλεκτρων διc κοκ[
]πα .υ[

l. 5: pap. πῆτ (in red ink)

Hence, the considerable number of particular words—no matter if their morphological form is complete on the papyrus scrap or still needs restoration—forms a solid basis for the reconstruction of the text to follow. Besides, if l. 6 κοκ[is correctly restored as a form of κοκκύζω, *P. Vindob. G 2325* would have preserved two rare words with κοκκύζω and ἀλεκτρύων,⁹⁷ whose equivalents in the texts of the New Testament are φωνέω and ἀλέκτωρ, and which are rather common in classical texts (ἀλεκτρύων) and semantically stronger (κοκκύζω).⁹⁸

⁹⁷ The first is a New Testament *hapax legomenon* (cf. 3 Macc 5:23), the latter even a biblical *hapax legomenon*.

⁹⁸ For more details and references see Kraus, “*P. Vindob. G 2325: The so-called Fayûm-Gospel*” (see n. 92), 78–79. Further see T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse: Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung*

All in all, the fragmentary lines have certain affinities with Mark 14:26–30 and Matt 26:30–34 respectively, the scene on the Mount of Olives with the two cockcrows before Peter’s denial. *P.Vindob.G* 2325 is obviously very close to the Markan version: (a) l. 6 of the papyrus resembles Mark 14:30 (πρὶν ἢ δις ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι; but see Matt 26:34: πρὶν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι) and both texts show the exact word order of the citation of the Septuagint version of Zech 13:7 (πατάξατε τοὺς ποιμένας καὶ ἐκσπάσατε τὰ πρόβατα; cf. Mark 14:30 πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσονται and “Fayûm Fragment” ll. 3–4). Interestingly, the reference to Jesus’ resurrection and his meeting with the disciples in Galilee (Mark 14:28; Matt 26:32) is apparently missing on the papyrus. In addition, the so-called “Fayûm Fragment” differs from both Mark and Matthew as far as style and vocabulary are concerned and we don’t have any verbatim agreements between them that would allow an identification of *P.Vindob.G* 2325 as a witness to the Gospel of Mark or Matthew. On the basis of these reflections and the allusions and potential parallels the text can be restored as follows:⁹⁹

recto →

- 1 [ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐ]ξάγειν ὡς [εἶπεν] ὅτι· ὅ[παντες]
[ἐν ταύτῃ] τῇ νυκτὶ σκανδαλισ[θήσεσ-]
[θε, κατὰ] τὸ γραφέν· πατάξω τὸν [ποιμέ-]
[να καὶ τὰ] πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσ[εται, εἰ-]
5 [πόντος το]ῦ Πέτ(ρου) καὶ εἰ πάντες, ο[ὐκ ἐγὼ· λέ-]
[γει Ἰη(σοῦς)· πρὶ]ν ἀλεκτρῶν δις κοκ[κύσει τρίς]¹⁰⁰
[σὺ σήμερόν με ἀ]παρ[ήσῃ]
l. 5: pap. π̄ετ (in red ink)

Potential parallels and/or allusions:

ll. 1–7: Mark 14:26–27, 29–30 // Matt 26:30–31, 33–34; ll. 3–4: Zech 13:7^{LXX}

(GCS NS 11; Neutestamentliche Apokryphen 1; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 67.

⁹⁹ From T.J. Kraus, “P.Vindob.G 2325: Einige Modifikationen von Transkription und Rekonstruktion,” ZAC/JAC 10 (2007) 383–385 and idem, “Other Gospel Fragments: 1. *P.Vindob.G* 2325: The ‘Fayûm Fragment’” (see n. 82), 222, on the basis of Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments I* (see n. 96), 174. Dieter Lührmann suggests εἰ[πόντος ἐμο]ῦ for ll. 4–5 and takes the first person perspective as a clue for identifying *P.Vindob.G* 2325 as a witness to the *Gospel of Peter*. See the reference in n. 93 above for my reservations about restoring ἐμο]ῦ instead of το]ῦ. Also see Porter and Porter, *New Testament Greek Papyri* (see n. 92), 291 and 293, who share these reservations.

¹⁰⁰ See Porter and Porter, *New Testament Greek Papyri* (see n. 92), 293, who correctly refer to my former reconstruction [πρὶν ἢ] ὁ ἀλεκτρῶν (cf. Kraus, “P.Vindob.G 2335: Das sogenannte Fayûm-Evangelium” [see n. 92]) as “creating an awkward asyndeton to indicate

However, as delineated above, there is no margin left in order to have any clue about the original dimension of the papyrus so that restoring line lengths certainly remains a tentative task. Consequently, the reconstructions presented so far are pure speculation and at the same time equally correct in the first place, as long as a plausible proposal is offered. Needless to say that a restoration on the assumption of longer lines with more letters per line (stichometry), which nobody has offered up to now, could also be right. Be that as it may, it is immediately obvious that every restoration of the text purely serves the purpose of representing the text as a whole and, thus, must never be taken as a basis for hypotheses about the (lost original) text. The reconstruction must never become the text itself or, in other words, fiction must not turn into fact.¹⁰¹ Solely the characters preserved and to a certain degree the words restored on a—more or less—safe ground can be utilized for a discussion of the purpose of the papyrus and its text. Hence, what *P.Vindob.G 2325* allows us to read (see the transcriptions above without restored parts), may lead us to propose that the text is an excerpt from synoptic material, which it shares with Mark and, to a less degree, with Matthew. It might also be a harmony or a paraphrase of the canonical gospels, although the rare words used (ἀλεκτρούων and a form of κοκκύζω see l. 6 κοκ[]) make these possibilities appear less likely. Therefore, the “Fayûm Fragment” may represent a part of a previously unknown and lost gospel that is derived from the same or at least very similar traditions as the synoptic gospels.¹⁰²

2.3 Closing gaps in considerably long and partly known texts: “creatio ex nihilo” or built on firm ground?

2.3.1 Starting with...: The Oxyrhynchos-Nag Hammadi connection

Motivated by the discovery of lost classical works, such as the famous rolls of Aristotle’s *Constitution of Athens*, and copies of Herodas’ *Mimiamb*s and Bacchylides’ *Odes* (the first two acquired by the British Museum in 1889, the last in 1896) and inspired by the papyrus findings of Flinders Petrie in the Fayûm, the two Englishmen Bernard Pyne Grenfell and Arthur

the shift in speaker.” In the meanwhile and independent from this observation, I changed the line to [γεί Ἰη(σοῦς)· πρὶ] γ ἀλεκτρούων (cf. Kraus, “*P.Vindob.G 2325: The So-called Fayûm-Gospel*” [see n. 92], 86 and 89–90); idem, “*P.Vindob.G 2325: Einige Modifikationen*” (see n. 99), 383–385.

¹⁰¹ See above n. 88 (Lührmann) and 89 (Bagnall).

¹⁰² See Kraus, “Other Gospel Fragments: I. *P.Vindob.G 2325: The ‘Fayûm Fragment’*” (see n. 82), 226, and it may “be parallel to, and different from, the synoptic tradition in the same way, and to the same degree, as Mark 14.26–30 and Matt. 26.30–4 are similar to, and different from, each other.”

Surridge Hunt started visiting a couple of sites in the Fayûm area. After test excavations and a campaign at ancient Karanis, they decided to explore ancient Oxyrhynchos (modern el-Behnesa), the “city of the sharp-nosed fish”, about 160 miles southwest of Cairo. Due to their classical education, Grenfell and Hunt shared the expectations of most of those digging in the Egyptian ground in those days: they hoped to unearth all the classical Greek masterpieces. After three weeks of searching in the Graeco-Roman cemeteries, they began digging a low mound of rubbish. Of course, they believed that everything they would find there were things of minor value, because they were once discarded. However, on 11 January 1897, almost at once they found a sheet of papyrus that they recognized as the “ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ”, the “Sayings of Jesus” (published as *P.Oxy. I 1*), as they called it in their *editio princeps*.¹⁰³ Their motivation even increased when they identified the text of the second papyrus as a copy of a portion from the Gospel of Matthew (*P.Oxy. I 2* = \mathfrak{P}^2).¹⁰⁴ What happened thereafter has become a fascinating gemstone of history: the papyri came in such vast amounts that there soon was a shortage of containers, so that even an old biscuit tin filled with papyri from Oxyrhynchos arrived at Oxford.¹⁰⁵

Six years later, in 1903, Grenfell and Hunt returned to Oxyrhynchos to initiate their second campaign there after some more or less disappointing excavations in and around the villages on the west side of the Fayûm area. And again, “[b]y a curious stroke of good fortune”,¹⁰⁶ the campaign began with the discovery of another fragment of “Sayings of Jesus” (*P.Oxy. IV 654*).¹⁰⁷ Later on they found a “Fragment of a Lost Gospel” (*P.Oxy. IV 655*).¹⁰⁸ The publication of the papyri found at Oxyrhynchos continues still in the classic series *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ: Sayings of Our Lord from an Early Greek Papyrus* (London: Henry Frowde, 1897) and idem, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part I* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898) 1–3.

¹⁰⁴ Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri I* (see n. 103), 4–7.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the very instructive account by P. Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish: Greek Papyri Beneath the Egyptian Sand Reveal a Long-Lost World* (London: Phoenix, 2007), 12–19.

¹⁰⁶ B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part IV* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1904) 1.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel from Oxyrhynchus* (London: Oxford University Press, 1904) and idem, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: IV* (see n. 106), 1–22 and plate I; Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish* (see n. 105), 15 and 197.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *New Sayings of Jesus* (see n. 107) and idem, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri IV* (see n. 106), 22–28 and plate II; Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish* (see n. 105), 15.

¹⁰⁹ Worth reading is the account of the excavations given by E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (2nd ed.; repr. 1998; Oxford: Clarendon Press) especially 25–38. See also idem, “The Graeco-Roman Branch,” in *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Soci-*

Then came what at first glance had nothing to do with the aforementioned papyri from Oxyrhynchus: in 1945, local peasants unearthed a sealed jar near the modern village of Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt. In it they found leather-bound papyrus codices, the famous Nag Hammadi library. Today twelve codices and the loose leaves belonging to a thirteenth one have survived, among them Nag Hammadi codex II with the *Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II.2).¹¹⁰

Moreover, there is the fragment of a shroud from the 5th or 6th century, found in ancient Oxyrhynchus (el-Behnesa) and bought by Roger Rémondon in 1953 from a local antique dealer.¹¹¹ Above all, its interesting inscription will play an important role in the following story of the restoration of just one saying on a papyrus fragment.

2.3.2 P.Oxy. IV 654 and its 5th saying

The discovery of the Nag Hammadi library caused a sensational stir. But, of course, it also had a major impact on the world of scholarship in general and an effect on the research on the three Greek papyri from Oxyrhynchus. In 1952, Henry-Charles Puech¹¹² identified some of the Coptic *logoi* of NHC

ety 1882–1982 (ed. T.G.H. James; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) 161–178. Very illustrative are the articles, brief explanations and images of the online exhibition *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/VEExhibition/exhib_welcome.html; last access 07/07/2009). See Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish* (see n. 105), here 12–24.

¹¹⁰ For a handy and good edition of the Coptic text with German translation see A. Guilaumont *et al.*, *Evangelium nach Thomas* (Leiden: Brill, 1959). Reliable and accessible English translations are provided by J.M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library* (3rd., completely rev. ed.; San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1990) 126–138, and B. Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures: A New Translation with Annotations* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1987). The relevant critical editions are B. Layton, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2–7: Together with XII,2*, BRIT.LIB.OR.4926(1), and P. OXY. 1, 654, 655. Vol. I: Gospel according to Thomas, Gospel according to Philip, Hypostasis of the Archons, and Indexes* (NHS XX; The Coptic Gnostic Library; Leiden: Brill, 1989) and H.-M. Schenke *et al.*, eds., *Nag Hammadi deutsch: Bd. 1: NHC I,1–V,1* (GCS N.F. 8; Koptisch-gnostische Schriften 2; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001). See also, with a new hypothesis about the development of the *Gospel of Thomas*, A.D. deConick, *The Original Gospel of Thomas in Translation. With a commentary and New English Translation of the Complete Gospel* (LNTS 287; London-New York: T&T Clark, 2006) together with E.E. Popkes, *Das Menschenbild des Thomasevangeliums: Untersuchungen zu seiner religionshistorischen und chronologischen Verortung* (WUNT 206; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).

¹¹¹ See H.-Ch. Puech, “Un *logion* de Jésus sur bandelette funéraire,” *Bulletin de la Société Ernest Rehan* 3 (1954) 7 (reprinted in *RHR* 147 (1955) 127 and *idem*, *En quête de la Gnose. Tome II: Sur l’évangile selon Thomas. Esquisse d’une interprétation systématique* [Bibliothèque des Sciences humaines; repr. 2003; Paris: Gallimard, 1978] 60); J.A. Fitzmyer, “The Oxyrhynchus *Logoi* of Jesus and the Goptic Gospel According to Thomas,” *TS* 20 (1959) 505–560 (revised in: *idem*, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* [London: G. Chapman, 1971], 355–433), here 526.

¹¹² Cf. H.-Ch. Puech, “Une collection de Paroles de Jésus récemment retrouvée: L’Évangile selon Thomas,” *Comptes rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 101/2 (1957)

II.2 with the text of the three Greek papyri from Oxyrhynchus, *P.Oxy.* I 1, IV 654 and 655.¹¹³ Apparently independently of Puech, G. Garitte also recognized that the Greek papyri and the NHC II.2 belong together, although he confirmed in a note that Puech's identification was prior to his own.¹¹⁴

Of major interest here is the 5th saying¹¹⁵ of *P.Oxy.* IV 654, ll. 27–31. The papyrus fragment is 24.4 cm high and 7.8 cm wide and preserves forty-two incomplete lines, which are written on the verso (vertical fibres ↓) of a survey-list about several pieces of land. The cursive hand of the document can be dated (back) to the end of the second or early third century, which serves as a *terminus a quo* for the Greek sayings of the *Gospel of Thomas* on the recto (→). The upright majuscules of the literary text prompted the editors Grenfell and Hunt to date the recto to the middle or late 3rd century. There are text divisions (*paragraphus* and *coronis*) to indicate the beginning and ending of the individual sayings. There is a rather wide margin on the left of the text (down till line 31) and a small margin on the top, so that most of the line beginnings are preserved,¹¹⁶ a circumstance that is beneficial to any effort of restoring the lost text. The prologue and 7 sayings of the *Gospel of Thomas* are written on the fragment of a roll or a single sheet of papyrus. Interestingly, the scribe was rather careless in respect of orthography, phrasing (above all, l. 1 οἱ τοῖτοι οἱ λόγοι)¹¹⁷ and mistakes with subsequent corrections above the lines (ll. 19 and 25).¹¹⁸

146–167 (reprinted in: idem, *En quête de la Gnose II* [see n. 111], 33–57), especially 147, and idem, “Das Thomas-Evangelium,” in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. Vol. I: Evangelien* (ed. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher; 3rd completely revised ed.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1959), 199–223, here 203, where Puech refers to 1952 as the year of identifying the Greek *logia* as parts of the *Gospel of Thomas*.

¹¹³ For a precise survey and an overview of the overlapping sayings see Puech, “Das Thomas-Evangelium” (see n. 112), 199–223; B. Blatz, “Das koptische Thomasevangelium,” in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. Vol. I: Evangelien* (ed. W. Schneemelcher; 6th ed.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990), 93–113. Further see Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish* (see n. 105), 197.

¹¹⁴ Cf. G. Garitte, “Les ‘Logoi’ d’Oxyrhynque et l’Apocryphe copte dit ‘Évangile de Thomas,’” *Le Muséon* 73 (1960) 151–172 and idem, “Les ‘Logoi’ d’Oxyrhynque sont traduits du Copte,” *Le Muséon* 73 (1960) 335–349. See also W. Schneemelcher, “Oxyrhynchus-Papyrus 654,” in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen I* (see n. 113), 61 n. 2.

¹¹⁵ In their *editio princeps* (see n. 107) Grenfell and Hunt regarded ll. 1–5 as the introduction and ll. 6–9 as the 1st saying, whereas it is also justified to regard ll. 1–3 as the prologue and consequently καὶ εἶπεν in l. 3 as the introductory formula of the 1st saying. Thus, ll. 27–31 would be the 5th saying according to the latter counting.

¹¹⁶ Cf. the images presented in Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri IV* (n. 106), plate I, and A.E. Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels: A Critical Edition of the Surviving Greek Manuscripts* (Library of New Testament Studies 315; London/New York: T&T Clark, 2006), plate 1.

¹¹⁷ For corrections of this bizarre phrase see the critical apparatus in Lührmann, *Fragment* (see n. 88), 113.

¹¹⁸ See Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri IV* (see n. 106), 1–2; van Haelst, *Catalogue* (see n. 79), no. 593 (209–210); Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels* (see n. 116), 16–18.

Just one year after its discovery, *P.Oxy.* IV 654 was published by Grenfell and Hunt with (a) a diplomatic transcription and (b) a sensible reconstruction, which both read as follows:

- (a) verso ↓, 5th saying (ll. 27–31)

λεγει $\overline{\tau\eta\varsigma}$ —.[

θεν της οψεως σου και [
απο σου αποκαλυφθησετ[

- 30 τιν κρυπτον ο ου φαγε[

και θεθαμμενον ο ο[

- (b) verso ↓, 5th saying (ll. 27–31)

λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· [πάν τὸ μὴ ἔμπροσ-]

θεν τῆς ὀψεώς σου καὶ [τὸ κεκρυμμένον]

ἀπὸ σου ἀποκαλυφ<θ>ήσεται[αὶ σοι, οὐ γὰρ ἐσ-]

- 30 τιν κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ φαγε[ρὸν γενήσεται]

καὶ τεθαμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται.]

l. 27: pap. $\overline{\tau\eta\varsigma}$; pap. —(coronis) after $\overline{\tau\eta\varsigma}$; l. 31: pap. Θεθαμμένον

Potential parallels and/or allusions, according to Grenfell/Hunt:

ll. 29–30: Matt 10:26 // Luke 12:2; Mark 4:22

For the last word of their reconstruction in l. 31 the editors also considered an alternative: “Instead of ἐγερθήσεται a more general word such as γνωσθήσεται can be supplied; but this detracts from the picturesqueness of what is in any case a striking variation of a well-known Saying.”¹¹⁹ All in all, they regarded the text of the papyrus as being closer to Matthew and Luke than to Mark, though they sensed the first half of the second sentence of the 4th saying “much closer to that of Mark” (4:22: οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν κρυπτὸν ἐὰν μὴ ἴνα φανερωθῇ κτλ.). Unfortunately, Grenfell and Hunt do not explain why they restored the perfect participle κεκρυμμένον of κρύπτω. Perhaps they tried to take up κρυπτόν from line 30.¹²⁰ They might also have chosen κεκαλυμμένον, the perfect participle of καλύπτω as it is used in Matt 10:26 (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν κεκαλυμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται καὶ κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται; parallel to Luke 12:2),¹²¹ which was suggested by Hugh G.

¹¹⁹ Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri IV* (see n. 106), 9.

¹²⁰ Without further discussion this reconstruction was taken over by Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments I* (see n. 96), 167–168.

¹²¹ The differences given in the text of Nestle and Aland²⁷ (missing γὰρ and συγκεκαλυμμένον) do not play a role for the discussion here.

Evelyn-White in 1920,¹²² discussed by Joseph A. Fitzmyer in 1959,¹²³ and since then has been the reconstruction of line 28.

After the discovery of the Nag Hammadi library, and after *P.Oxy.* I 1, III 654 and 655 were identified by Puech as pieces of the *Gospel of Thomas* with the help of NHC II.2, the reconstruction was changed again. In 1959, Fitzmyer¹²⁴ applied the Coptic ΠΕΧΕ̅ ΙϢ̅ ΣΟΥΩΗ ΠΕΤΗΠΗΤΟ ΠΠΕΚΩΟ ΕΒΟΛ (‘‘Jesus said, ‘Know what is [or ‘who is’]¹²⁵ before your face’’’) to l. 27 of *P.Oxy.* IV 654 so that it reads λέγει Ἰη(σου)ς· γ[νῶθι τὸ ὄν ἔμπροσ]|θεν. The γ of the imperative γνῶθι harmonised pretty well with the letter traces after the *nomen sacrum* and the coronis. Interestingly, the traces are part of Grenfell and Hunt’s diplomatic transcription but are no longer considered in their reconstruction.

At last, and by cutting a long story short, the 5th saying of *P.Oxy.* IV 654 can be reconstructed as follows:¹²⁶

verso ↓, 5th saying (ll. 27–31)

λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· γ[νῶθι τὸ ὄν ἔμπροσ-]
 θεν τῆς ὥσεώς σου, καὶ [τὸ κεκαλυμμένον]
 ἀπό σοῦ ἀποκαλυφ<θ>ήσεται[αί σοι· οὐ γάρ ἐσ-]
 30 τιν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φαγε[[ρὸν γενήσεται]
 καὶ τεθαμμένον ὃ ὁ[ὐκ ἐγερθήσεται.]

l. 27: pap. $\overline{\eta\varsigma}$; pap. —(coronis) after $\overline{\eta\varsigma}$; l. 31: pap. Θεθαμμένον

Potential parallels and/or allusions:

ll. 29–30: Matt 10:26 // Luke 12:2 (Q 12:2); Mark 4:22 // Luke 8:17

The differences between this reconstruction and that of the *editio princeps* by Grenfell and Hunt may mainly be marginal ones (punctuation, κεκαλυμμένον for κεκρυμμένον). By taking into account the Coptic text that was discovered later, the Greek text could even be improved (see l. 1). However, there is something that is even more important in the present context: Grenfell and Hunt did such a splendid job that their transcription

¹²² H.G. Evelyn-White, *The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920).

¹²³ Cf. Fitzmyer, ‘‘The Oxyrhynchus Logoi’’ (see n. 111), 525–526. But see also O. Hofius, ‘‘Das koptische Thomasevangelium und die Oxyrhynchus-Papyri Nr. 1, 6454 und 655,’’ *EvTh* 20 (1960) 21–42, 182–192.

¹²⁴ Cf. Fitzmyer, ‘‘The Oxyrhynchus Logo’’ (see n. 111), 525.

¹²⁵ See Puech, ‘‘Un logion de Jésus’’ (see n. 111), 6–9 (reprinted in *RHR* 147 (1955) 126–129 and idem, *En quête de la Gnose II* [see n. 112], 59–62); Fitzmyer, ‘‘The Oxyrhynchus Logoi’’ (see n. 111), 525; Guillaumont, *Evangelium nach Thomas* (see n. 110), 5 (note to line 11).

¹²⁶ See also Lührmann, *Fragmente* (see n. 88), 117; Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels* (see n. 116), 28.

and reconstruction—with the exception of the aforesaid—is in large parts identical with the Coptic text. Even γάρ in the reconstructed section of l. 29 could be confirmed with the help of the NHC II.2.¹²⁷

Nonetheless, for the further discussion of *P.Oxy.* IV 654 or, to be more precise, the text preserved by it, it is important to reconsider how and why the changes were made. Above all, restoring κεκαλυμμένον instead of κεκρυμμένον (Grenfell/Hunt) implies that the whole saying apparently moves a step closer towards Matt 10:26 // Luke 12:2, while Grenfell and Hunt considered the language of the first half of the second clause in accordance with Mark. White, however, concluded that “Mark should be left out of the matter altogether”, because ll. 29–30 “coincides word for word with the Lucan parallel” of Luke 8:17 (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται), so that “the Saying is dependent partly upon the Q tradition, and partly upon the Lucan version of Mark’s tradition.”¹²⁸ But by doing so White underplays the significance of the differences between the Synoptics on the one side and the 5th saying of *P.Oxy.* IV 654 together with NHC II.2 (81.10–13) and, at the same time, overrates the meaningfulness of their parallel passages. After all, there are some objections against such an assessment.¹²⁹

- (1) ll. 27–31 of *P.Oxy.* IV 654 of the papyrus cannot be identified with any of the versions of the saying in the Synoptic Gospels;
- (2) the Oxyrhynchus saying appears as if it is a compilation of traditions it shares with the Synoptics;
- (3) the beginning and end of the saying (ll. 1–2, 31) are not represented in the canonical gospels at all;¹³⁰
- (4) even if there is considerable and noticeable overlap between the Synoptics and the 5th saying, the papyrus and its text deserve to be appreciated and evaluated on its own and “should be regarded with the same authenticity”.¹³¹

¹²⁷ See Fitzmyer, “The Oxyrhynchus *Logoi*” (see n. 111), 525, and Guillaumont, *Evangelium nach Thomas* (see n. 110), 5.

¹²⁸ White, *The Sayings of Jesus* (see n. 122), 18.

¹²⁹ For (1) and (3) cf. also Fitzmyer, “The Oxyrhynchus *Logoi*” (see n. 111), 525–526.

¹³⁰ At least the Manichaean *Kephalaia* 65 contains the same phrasing as ll. 1–2. Cf. W.-P. Funk, ed., *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin. Vol. I: Kephalaia (I), 1. Hälfte* (Lieferung 1–10; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940), 163. This observation was made by Puech, “Un *logion* de Jésus” (see n. 111), 8 (= *RHR* 147 [1955], 128 = idem, *En quête de la Gnose* [see n. 112], 61). See also idem, “Das Thomas-Evangelium” (see n. 112), 216–217. Further, with reference to Puech and the *Kephalaia*, see Fitzmyer, “The Oxyrhynchus *Logoi*” (see n. 111), 526.

¹³¹ Fitzmyer, “The Oxyrhynchus *Logoi*” (see n. 111), 527. Similarly, Lührmann, *Fragmente* (see n. 88), 108: “Die Angabe von Parallelen in den kanonisch gewordenen Evangelien wird

Thus, it is of considerable significance whether or not to choose known texts as guiding lines for one's own restoration of fragments and their texts from the very beginning; and, in particular, it can be important whether to print κεκρυμμένον or κεκαλυμμένον in square parentheses for the further interpretation of a textual passage, as delineated above. In addition, the last line of the saying (l. 31 καὶ τεθαμμένον ὃ ο[ὐκ ἐγερθήσεται]) is missing in the Coptic text of NHC II.2. Its restoration is not backed by any parallel text so far (but see below) that it must be considered as Grenfell and Hunt's (though sound and reasonable)¹³² 'creation'.

2.3.3 *The Shroud from el-Behnesa (Oxyrhynchos)*

The time of a missing parallel attestation of l. 31 of the papyrus fragment ends in 1955: Henry-Charles Puech published a short communication with the title "Un *logion* de Jésus sur bandelette funéraire"¹³³ about the fragment of a shroud from ancient Oxyrhynchos (modern el-Behnesa), which Roger Rémondon purchased from a local antique dealer. The fragment, of which an image exists,¹³⁴ was in the private collection of Henry-Charles Puech. Unfortunately, I could not trace what happened to this collection after Puech's death and where the shroud is now. The rectangular shroud (more than four times wide than high)¹³⁵ preserves two lines of upright majuscules on the one side, which are dated to the 5th or 6th century, while the other side is blank. The two lines—complete in themselves—read as follows:¹³⁶

ΛΕΓΕΙΙΗCOYCOYKECTINTEΘAMME
NONOYKEΓEPΘHCETAI †

sparsam gehandhabt, um den Eindruck einer ständigen Abhängigkeit zu vermeiden. Auch das EvThom ist zunächst als eigenständige Fassung der Jesusüberlieferung anzusehen, nicht als Veränderung anderer." ("Parallels to the Gospels which have become canonical are only scarce in order to avoid the impression that there is a permanent dependency. The *Gospel of Thomas* must also be regarded in the first instance as an independent version of the Jesus tradition and not as a modification of other traditions.") Also see Guillaumont, *Evangelium nach Thomas* (see n. 110), 59–62 (the parallels and allusions are given separately from the text).

¹³² See, for example, Schneemelcher, "Oxyrhynchos-Papyrus 654" (see n. 114), 64, who states that the restoration ο[ὐκ ἐγερθήσεται] is suggested by the first element of the line τεθαμμένον.

¹³³ See n. 111.

¹³⁴ Puech, *En quête de la Gnose II* (see n. 111), frontispiece.

¹³⁵ Puech and Fitzmyer (see n. 111), who deal with the shroud, do not provide exact measures of the object and the letters.

¹³⁶ According to van Haelst, *Catalogue* (see n. 79), no. 596, and the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?tm=62841>; last access 06/06/2009; see LDAB no. 4031) the object might have been used as an amulet.

λέγει Ἰησοῦς· οὐκ ἔστιν τεθαμμέ-
νον ὃ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται. †

“Jesus says: ‘There is nothing buried that will not be raised.’”

Of course, that rings a bell and immediately l. 31 of *P.Oxy. IV 654* comes to mind:

καὶ τεθαμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται.]

l. 31: pap. Θεθαμμένον

Thus, Grenfell and Hunt’s restoration of l. 31 is attested by two lines on a shroud from the 5th or 6th century. But is it really? Or, in other words, what exactly is attested? What we certainly do not have is another witness to the *Gospel of Thomas* or, in particular to its Greek version of the 5th saying (*P.Oxy. IV 654*). Further, the fragment of the shroud is neither a confirmation of the correctness of Grenfell and Hunt’s restoration of l. 31,¹³⁷ nor is it an additional witness to the *Gospel of Thomas*. Although the two editors of the papyrus fragment from Oxyrhynchos had their sound reasons for making up a sensible restoration (above all, stichometry and the fact that ἐγείρω corresponds well with preceding θάπτω), they created a new text with something that was not attested elsewhere; so they came up with a, so to speak, *creatio ex nihilo*.

The shroud from Oxyrhynchos, being published fifty-one years after Grenfell and Hunt had edited *P.Oxy. IV 654*, demonstrated that their attempt to restore the 5th saying was not an inadequate or random attempt. The saying preserved on the shroud (a) accounts for the possibility of the restoration of l. 31 and (b) proves that this form of a saying actually circulated among Christians, at least in the 5th/6th century. Moreover, this saying is of theological relevance, as it obviously stands for the belief in the bodily resurrection and the preservation of the corps for the Last Judgment.¹³⁸ The shroud as a burial object can even be considered as the manifestation of the steadfast hope that this particular body will once be raised from the dead.¹³⁹ Therefore, the shroud from ancient Oxyrhynchos must be taken into account when talking about *P.Oxy. IV 654*, its 5th saying, and

¹³⁷ Fitzmyer, “The Oxyrhynchus Logoi” (see n. 111), 526: “The restoration has been confirmed by an inscription on a shroud found in the hamlet of Behnesa and bought in 1953.”

¹³⁸ Cf. Puech, “Un logion de Jésus” (see n. 111), 7 (= *RHR* 147 [1955] 127 = idem, *En quête de la Gnose* [see n. 112], 60).

¹³⁹ See S. Morenz, “Fortwirken altägyptischer Elemente in christlicher Zeit,” in *Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil* (ed. Villa Hügel, Essen; Essen: Friedrich Krupp, 1963) 54–59, here 58.

even the *Gospel of Thomas* (although it is not a witness to it),¹⁴⁰ because it is an archaeological object that can help to shed further light on the world of thought from which such traditional sayings emerged and in which they circulated. That is why we must certainly be careful how to formulate our observations about the complete Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*, the 5th saying of *P.Oxy.* IV 654, and the saying of the shroud in order to provide accurate and appropriate statements about texts and restorations.¹⁴¹

3 Conclusion: in general

The restoration of fragmentary manuscripts is a demanding task, but we cannot do without it. Consequently, editors accept the risk of making mistakes, a risk that is enlarged if an editor is inexperienced, does not possess the required skills or cannot apply them moderately, or does not take the care that is required for the job. And even if editors fulfil their tasks in a splendid way in their days, there might be some methodical progress in the discipline, new discoveries and, thus, much more data available, technical developments (e.g., all the computer and Internet applications available today and those to be developed in the future), or just other specialists who, with good cause, can modify and correct the edition of a papyri.¹⁴² Therefore, editions of papyri are a special stage of knowledge that is published for others to reflect upon it.¹⁴³ But this stage may just be a provisional and transitional one, a snap-shot or a *momentum* of scholarship, because the edition itself can be challenged in several ways (as a whole, i.e., methodically, or in relation to an individual aspect), criticized, modified, corrected or even abandoned.

Hence, it is necessary that editors distinguish between what is actually there and what they have restored, and indicate it unambiguously. But the responsibility for an edited manuscript also lies on the interpreters' side.

¹⁴⁰ Apart from Puech and Fitzmyer (see n. 111), also Lührmann, *Fragmente* (see n. 88), 117, and Morenz, "Fortwirken" (see n. 140), 58, refer to the shroud from Oxyrhynchos.

¹⁴¹ It is astounding that there is no mention of the shroud in several editions, above all, Blatz, "Das koptische Thomasevangelium" (see n. 113), 93–97 and 99. Blatz could easily have drawn upon Puech, "Das Thomas-Evangelium" (see n. 112), 216–217, in an earlier edition of the Hennecke/Schneemelcher where Puech refers to the shroud. In addition, she incorrectly writes: "Im Koptischen fehlt das letzte Glied des Spruchs." ("In the Coptic version the last element of the saying is missing.")

¹⁴² For further and more profound reflections see Bagnall, *Reading Papyri* (see n. 10), 1–6.

¹⁴³ Bagnall, *Reading Papyri* (see n. 10), 31, is right in claiming that "[t]he act of restoration does not usually add to the store of knowledge; it is the arguments underpinning a restoration that bring new knowledge."

They must be cautious with restorations and with basing hypotheses on them.¹⁴⁴ The formation of a hypothesis is only methodologically sound when it is built on firm ground and not on sand. Textual units that only exist in a restored section should not be used as the key argument for a complex hypothesis. In other words, and in order to come back to the sample cases discussed in this study, neither can *P.Ryl.* III 457 (=P⁵²) be used as proof for a text form without support for John 18:37 without the second εἰς τοῦτο (verso ↓) or as a witness to a specific form of the *nomina sacra*, because both issues only come into being via the restoration.¹⁴⁵ Nor should *P.Mert.* II 51 be drawn upon as evidence for anti-Pharisaic tendencies, as the Pharisees are only there because of the reconstruction. Of course, this is not a ban on discussion. Possibilities and probabilities can and even should be discussed, because they have already been involved in the issue by the work of editors, who make “choices about selection, organization, questions, methods, and presentation”¹⁴⁶ in the course of their work. At the same time this always entails that certain options are just left aside. These are some of the limits of reconstructing fragmentary manuscripts. But nonetheless, there are chances, too.

The quintessence of this consideration is that interpreters must be aware of what they employ as proof, so that they do not turn the world upside down on the basis of weak evidence. Interpreters must make a clear distinction between what is actually there and what is restored. Figuratively speaking that would mean that a fixing pin would form the headstone for hypotheses and theories, just as if a pyramid is turned around and set on the ground on its top. In general, there should be several pieces of real evidence that can help historians to create a conclusion and, thus, a theory, just like the pyramid built on a solid base and tapering to its top. Therefore,

¹⁴⁴ See Bagnall, “Restoring the text of documents” (see n. 7), 113: “Anything put on the page as a restoration—between square brackets according to the Leiden convention which papyrologists use—is almost certain to wind up being used by some later scholar or, just as bad, the presence of restoration will lead to the entire text’s being discounted.” Somehow that might be the case with the fragment *P.Oxy.* LX 4009 whose verso has recently been reconstructed in a rather speculative way by Matti Myllykoski on the basis of Luke 7:45–50 (“The Sinful Woman in the Gospel of Peter: Reconstructing the Other Side of P.Oxy. 4009”, *NTS* 55 [2009] 104–115). Thereafter, and by taking his hypothesis for granted, Myllykoski has started to interpret the reconstruction hermeneutically and to utilize it for a text-critical discussion of Luke 7:47b–48. Apart from the problematic reconstruction, above all as far as palaeographical and methodical inconsistencies are concerned, Myllykoski mainly deals with *his* reconstruction, in other words *his* ‘creation’, and to a less degree with the few letters preserved on the papyrus fragment in each line.

¹⁴⁵ See the method applied by the editors of the *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Nestle-Aland), who use *vid* for *videtur* in order to indicate that the original reading of the manuscript cannot be determined without doubt.

¹⁴⁶ Bagnall, *Reading Papyri* (see n. 10), 5.

one chance of reconstructing fragmentary papyri is to focus on a trustworthy and accurate restoration to enable others to read and comprehend what is written in a peculiar handwriting on scraps of papyrus.¹⁴⁷

The examples of fragmentary papyri and their restoration presented here have shown rather plainly how diverse and individual the problems an editor has to deal with can be. But the main results from the hard work of editing fragmentary papyri are admirable enough, not only because the editors are fully aware of the limits and pitfalls their task involves. An editor's task is also to provide readable, i.e., in the case of fragments, restored texts with critical notes and a discussion of alternatives and problems. And this is another chance of reconstructing papyrus fragments. Besides, others will receive an editor's own interpretation, which itself is a representation of just one alternative for the text and as such this interpretation has its value for both, editor and interpreters later on.¹⁴⁸ The texts produced and received that way and the texts historians are dependent on are the ones we cannot do without.

And 'texts' here means not just the words and sentences, but the dots and brackets, too. Only in looking at these too can the historian get a sense of just how far the footing underneath is solid or spongy. Moreover, the absence of dots may represent nothing more than the editor's unconsciousness of the fragility of the text and of the doubtfulness of the reading.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Cf. the study of Rachel Yuen-Collingridge in the present volume and Bagnall, "Restoring the text of documents" (see n. 7), 113.

¹⁴⁸ See Yuen-Collingridge and Bagnall, "Restoring the Text of Documents" (see n. 7), 113–114, and idem, *Reading Papyri* (see n. 10), 29–31.

¹⁴⁹ Bagnall, *Reading Papyri* (see n. 10), 110. See also idem, "Restoring the Text of Documents" (see n. 7), 113–114, where Bagnall writes about the editor's task "to educate readers and students to recognize restorations for what they are, rather than looking at them as simply another form of primary evidence messed up with some funny brackets."

CHAPTER TWO

HUNTING FOR ORIGEN IN UNIDENTIFIED PAPYRI: THE CASE OF *P.EGERTON 2* (= *INV. 3*)*

Rachel Yuen-Collingridge

The study of unidentified literary papyri is a story of unrequited love, of interpreter for artifact, and the tension this engenders. At the heart of this lies a deceptively simple problem: how to establish a meaningful and useful text out of the flotsam of time. Textual critics have wrangled with the problem of multiple witnesses and emerged fortified by elegant rules which promise to steer a sure path to the textual form which stands behind the surviving witnesses or, more ambitiously and platonically, to the author's idea of his own text.¹ By and large the methods according to which particular readings are tested have remained essentially unchanged over at least the last century.² Readings are judged according to their suitability, both in terms of content and style. This preference for a qualitative judgment was meant to avoid a simplistic assessment based on the number of witnesses for a particular reading and to allow the authenticity of the *difficilior lectio* to ascend. However, a quantitative valuation intrudes into the process of proving a reading's suitability. Correlation with passages found elsewhere

* The standard abbreviations for papyrological sigla have been used throughout. See the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>). For inscriptional evidence, I have conformed to the abbreviations proposed by G.H.R. Horsley and J.A.L. Lee, "A preliminary checklist of abbreviations of Greek epigraphic volumes," *Epigraphica* 56 (1994) 129–169. It should be noted at the outset that *P.Egerton 2* (= *P.Egerton inv. 3*) is not the "Unknown Gospel", published as *P.Egerton 1* = *P.Egerton inv. 2*. I follow here standard papyrological practice by referring to papyri by their publication, not inventory, numbers where available. This paper was presented at the Australasian Society for Classical Studies Conference at the University of Sydney, February, 2009. I would like to thank the audience for their questions and Professor Edwin Judge for his comments on a written version.

¹ So K. Lachmann according to P. Maas, *Textkritik* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1927) 1. On the issue and the history of Lachmann's method see G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1971²); S. Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (Biblioteca del Saggiatore 18; Florence: Le Monnier, 1963); G. Luck, "Textual criticism today," *AJPh* 102 (1981) 165–194. See also the essential A. Dain, *Les manuscrits* (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles-Lettres", 1975³), esp. 159–186.

² M.L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique applicable to Greek and Latin texts* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973) esp. 47–48. The bibliography on textual criticism is vast. I cite here only two discussions which illustrate the shared ground between the biblical and classical methods: P. Chantraine, "Le problème du choix en philologie," *SIFC* 27–28 (1956) 102–107 and J.K. Elliott, "Textkritik heute," *ZNTW* 82 (1991) 34–41.

in an author's works in order to prove a preference for one mode of expression over another inevitably leads to a certain degree of textual homogeneity. Yet, to abandon this type of proof is to slip off the veil of accountability and subject the text to the immodesties of aesthetic taste.

But what happens when the author is unknown, where the genre is a matter of contention, and the witness to the text both singular and lamentably lacunose? This is the situation with the unidentified literary papyri and those rules of the past can offer no safe passage here. The tensions remain the same: how does one balance the unknown and the known, the unique and the commonplace, not simply of the individual words but of the whole artifact itself?

I would like to sketch out some of these conflicts by looking at one unidentified literary papyrus of Christian content and the manner in which it has been made to speak. *P.Egerton 2*,³ conserved in the British Library, contains a number of biblical citations⁴ and features the distinctive Christian abbreviation of sacred names (*nomina sacra*).⁵ What little survives of the prose of this text cannot be correlated with any surviving Greek literary work. Bell and Skeat carefully acknowledged that the text was too fragmentary to allow for unequivocal determination of its genre.⁶ Yet, they appended to it the cautious title "Fragments of a Gospel Commentary (?)". They dated its "neat, sloping, oval uncial hand" with confidence to the late second or early third century and, on this basis, were reluctant to assign it to Origen.⁷

³ Ed.pr.: H.I. Bell and T.C. Skeat, eds., *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* (= P.Egerton) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935) no. 2, pp. 42–51 with pl. III. See further VH (= J. Van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* [Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série "Papyrologie" 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976]) 691; KV (= K. Aland and H.-U. Rosenbaum, *Repertorium der Griechischen Christlichen Papyri II. Kirchenväter—Papyri. Volume I: Beschreibungen* [PTS 42; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1995]) 69; LDAB (=Leuven Database of Ancient Books [http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/]) 3502 and K. Treu, "Christliche Papyri 1940–1967," *APF* 19 (1969) 192–193. *P.Egerton 2* consists of fifteen fragments constituting two larger pieces (fr. 1 and 2) which preserve the remains of two leaves of a two-column codex. The sequence for fr. 1 is ↓ → || → ↓; for fr. 2 (probably) || → ↓.

⁴ According to ed.pr., these are Matt 5:8 (fr. 1, ↓, col. ii, ll. 44–46), Ps 11:7 (fr. 1, ↓, col. ii, ll. 54–58), Matt 4:5 (fr. 1, →, col. i, ll. 4–8), Matt 27:52–53 (fr. 1, →, col. i, ll. 9–12), John 1:14 (fr. 2, →, col. i, ll. 64–65), John 1:29 (fr. 2, →, col. i, ll. 68–71), John 6:55 (fr. 2, →, col. i, ll. 75–77), Phil 2:6 (fr. 2, →, col. i, ll. 84–87), 2 Tim 2:19 (fr. 2, ↓, col. ii, ll. 131–133).

⁵ Excluding instances which have been entirely restored, these are: κς (fr. 1, ↓, col. ii, l. 44); κυ (fr. 1, ↓, col. ii, ll. 53, 55); ιν (fr. 2, →, col. i, l. 67); θς (fr. 2, →, col. i, l. 81); θν (fr. 2, →, col. i, l. 80); θυ (fr. 2, →, col. i, ll. 70, 85); θω (fr. 2, →, col. i, l. 87).

⁶ Bell and Skeat, *Fragments*, 42: "all the intelligible passages seem to be concerned solely with exegesis, but the whole work may well have been of a different nature—homiletic, dogmatic, apologetic, or polemical."

⁷ Bell and Skeat, *Fragments*, 42, offered the following palaeographical comperanda: *P.Oxy.* XVII 2082 (papyrus roll, Phlegon of Tralles (?): late II) and *P.Ryl.* I 57 (papyrus roll, Demosthenes, *De corona*: II/III). In addition, they compared the style with *BKT* VI.II.1

Instead they nominated other early Christian exegetes like Theophilus of Antioch, Heracleon and Irenaeus as possible authors.⁸ The survival of two early papyrus manuscripts of Irenaeus further recommended this exegete to Bell and Skeat.⁹ No such evidence was available for Theophilus of Antioch or Heracleon. When Bell and Skeat published *P.Egerton* 2, six years before the discoveries at Tura,¹⁰ no definite papyrus witness for the text of Origen had been published.¹¹

(papyrus roll, Hermas, *Similitudines*: III/IV), *P.Mich.* II.2 129 (papyrus roll, Hermas, *Mandata*: III), *P.Mich.* II.2 130 (papyrus codex, Hermas, *Similitudines*: III), London, *British Library Pap.* 126 r (= F.G. Kenyon, *Classical texts from papyri in the British Museum* [London, by order of the Trustees (O.U.P): 1891] no. 126, pp. 81–92 and pl. VI) (papyrus codex, Homer, *Iliad*: III), *P.Beatty* 1 (papyrus codex, Matt, John, Luke, Mark, Acts: III), and *P.Oxy.* IV 655 (papyrus roll, Gospel of Thomas: III). W. Schubart thought it to be from the early third century (reported in Bell and Skeat [1935] 42).

⁸ Bell and Skeat, *Fragments*, 43–44. They dismiss both Clement and Hippolytus as they are not closely associated with NT exegesis. Basilides' Ἐξηγητικά was also rejected as he did not accept either of the Letters to Timothy. See, with relevant discussion, on Theophilus: N. Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Notes sur quelques aspects judaïsants du Logos chez Théophile d'Antioche," in *Actes de la XII Conférence internationale d'Études classiques Eirene, Cluj-Napoca, 2–7 octobre 1972* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1975) 69–87; *eadem*, "La création de l'homme (Gn 1,26) chez Théophile d'Antioche," *VigChr* 30 (1976) 258–267; J.P. Martin, "La saggezza creatrice secondo Teofilo di Antiochia ed i suoi silenzi cristologici," *Augustinianum* 32 (1992) 223–235; on Heracleon: Y. Janssens, "Héracléon, Commentaire sur l'Évangile selon saint Jean," *Muséon* 72 (1959) 101–151, 277–299; C. Gianotto, "Il commento di Eraclione di Vangelo di Giovanni," *RSB* 3.2 (1991) 147–159; A. Wucherpfennig, *Heracleon Philologus: gnostische Johannesexegese im zweiten Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2002); on Irenaeus: B. Mutschler, "Was weiss Irenäus vom Johannesevangelium? Der historische Kontext des Johannesevangelium aus der Perspektive seiner Rezeption bei Irenäus von Lyon," in *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: das vierte Evangelium in religions- und traditionsgeschichtlicher Perspektive* (ed. J. Frey and U. Schnelle; Tübingen: Mohr, 2004) 695–745; *idem*, *Irenäus als johanneischer Theologe: Studien zur Schriftauslegung bei Irenäus von Lyon* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2004); A.-C. Jacobsen, "The constitution of man according to Irenaeus and Origen," in *Körper und Seele: Aspekte spätantiker Anthropologie* (ed. B. Feichtinger, S. Lake and H. Seng; München: Saur, 2006) 67–94.

⁹ *P.Oxy.* III 405 (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*: II/III), published by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt in 1903, and Jena Universität 18r + 21r (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*: III/IV), published by H. Lietzmann, "Der Jenaer Irenaeus-Papyrus," *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse* (1912) 291–320. See the recent bibliography at LDAB 2459 and 2460 respectively.

¹⁰ The Tura excavations in 1941 turned up on two papyrus codices of Origen, with titles preserved in some cases, the *Dialogue with Heraclides*, the *Peri Pascha*, extracts from *Contra Celsum* I and II, *On the Pythonissa of Endor* and the *Commentary on Romans* (Cairo, Egyptian Museum JdE 88745 + 88746 and 88747 + 88748). These finds were first published by O. Guéraud, "Note préliminaire sur les papyrus d'Origène découverts à Toura," *RHR* 131 (1941) 85–108. See now with additional possible Origenic fragments B. Krämer, *Kleine Texte aus dem Tura-Fund* (Bonn: Habelt, 1985); B. Witte, *Die Schrift des Origenes "Über das Passa"* (Altenberge: Oros, 1993); J. Schärer, *Entretien d'Origène avec Héraclide* (SC 67; Paris: du Cerf, 1960); *idem*, *Le commentaire d'Origène sur Rom. III.5–V.7* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1957) 124–223; M. Borret, *Origène: Contre Celse I* (SC 132; Paris: Cerf, 1967) 34–43, 59.

¹¹ Prior to 1935 there were only three published papyri which had been tentatively attributed to Origen: *P.Bour.* 3 (= *P.Achmim* 1) (Homily on John, Paul or Corinthians, papyrus codex, IV/V); *P.Oxy.* XIII 1601 (Discussion of Joel 1:6, papyrus codex, IV/V) and *P.Giss.*

Twelve years later, R.M. Grant transformed Bell and Skeat's uncertainty into probability and argued for the attribution of *P.Egerton 2* to Origen.¹² Grant's article was followed by those of R. Leaney and H. Chadwick, who argued likewise in support of this identification with Origen.¹³ Then in 1978 M. Naldini published *PSI inv. 2101* which he took to preserve further fragments from the same codex as *P.Egerton 2*.¹⁴ The two pieces, *PSI inv. 2101* and *P.Egerton 2*, share many palaeographical and physical characteristics¹⁵ and both are exegetical in nature.¹⁶ They are assumed to be from the same

Univ. II 17 (interpretation of Gen. 1:28, papyrus codex, III). *P.Oxy. XIII 1601* was assigned to Origen by R. Reitzenstein, "Origenes und Hieronymus," *ZNW* 20 (1921) 90-93. The last two of this list are now not seriously regarded as works of Origen, see K. McNamee, "Origen in the papyri," *CF* 27 (1973) 28-51, esp. 50-51 and E. Junod, "Une interprétation originale de Genèse 1,28 indument attribuée à Origène (Pap. bibl. univ. Giss. inv. 30)," *RHR* 71 (1991) 11-31.

¹² R.M. Grant, "More fragments of Origen?," *VigChr* 2 (1948) 243-247.

¹³ R. Leaney, "The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus no. 3," *VigChr* 9 (1955) 212-217; H. Chadwick, "The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus No. 3," *HThR* 49 (1956) 145-151.

¹⁴ Ed.pr.: M. Naldini, "Nuovi frammenti origeniani," *Prometheus* 4 (1978) 97-108. See also A. Guida, "Un nuovo testo di Origene," *A&R* 23 (1978) 188-190; M. Naldini, "Ancora sui nuovi frammenti origeniani (*PSI inv. 2101*)," *Prometheus* 6 (1980) 80-82; K. Treu, "Christliche Papyri VIII," *APF* 28 (1982) no. 691, p. 95; KV 68; LDAB 3501. *PSI inv. 2101* consists of eleven fragments, eight of which come from a single page (fr. A) of a two-column codex. The sequence of fr. A is || → ↓. It is unknown for the other three fragments (fr. 1, 2 and 3).

¹⁵ The hand was described by Naldini ("Nuovi frammenti origeniani," 97) as "una maiuscula ovale di piccole dimensioni, accurata e inclinata a destra, con alcune lettere, come il μ, di tipo minuscolo" and compared also with that of *P.Beatty 1* and *P.Oxy. IV 655*. The lettering of both *PSI inv. 2101* and *P.Egerton 2* shares the same slope, height (c. 2 mm) and style. Dieresis appears in both texts over initial *iota* (*PSI inv. 2101*: fr. A, ↓, col. ii, l. 3; *P.Egerton 2*: fr. 1, →, col. i, l. 8, fr. 2, →, col. i, l. 66). Rough breathings are employed in both, appearing in diphthongs over the first letter (*PSI inv. 2101*: fr. A, ↓, col. ii, ll. 2, 17; fr. 1, ↓, l. 9; fr. 2, ↓, l. 8; *P.Egerton 2*: fr. 1, ↓, col. ii, l. 50; fr. 2, →, col. i, ll. 72, 84). Both texts have a preserved intercolumnium of c. 0.6 cm, upper margin of 1.8 cm and their columns hold between 19-21 letters per line. By measuring the breadth occupied by surviving numbers of letters at various points from the plate of *P.Egerton 2* in the ed.pr. and from an image provided by the Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli" an estimation of the restored width of each column may be calculated. For both *PSI inv. 2101* and *P.Egerton 2* this estimated column width falls between 6.5-7 cm. The external margin does not survive for *P.Egerton 2*, yet an external margin survives on *PSI inv. 2101*, fr. A (1.5-2 cm). In any case, according to these calculations the original width of the page must have exceeded 13.6-14.6 cm (i.e. the width of two restored columns + the intercolumnium) for both pieces. The complete height of a column is only known for *PSI inv. 2101* (34-35 lines over c. 16 cm). *P.Egerton 2* preserves 32 lines over 15.3 cm. *Contra Aland* (KV, 446-448), the measurements are roughly compatible. Assuming that *P.Egerton 2* is of the same format as *PSI inv. 2101*, the dimensions of the original page would measure c. 19-20 (H) × 17.5-18.5 (B) cm. Thus, the codex would be a representative of Turner's Group 5 aberrants (*The Typology of the Early Codex* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977], 18).

¹⁶ *PSI inv. 2101* contains the following biblical references: Gen 1:26 (fr. A, →, col. i, l. 1; fr. A, →, col. ii, ll. 23, 35-fr. A, ↓, col. i, l. 1); 1 Cor 12:31 (fr. A, →, col. ii, ll. 26-28); 1 Cor 13:9-10 (fr. A, →, col. ii, ll. 29-33); 1 John 3:2-3 (fr. A, ↓, col. i, ll. 10-18); Col 1:15 (fr. A, ↓, col. i, ll. 26-27); Eph 2:10 (fr. A, ↓, col. i, l. 34-col. ii, l. 4); Gen 3:1 (fr. 2, →, ll. 3-5); John 3:26 (fr. 2, →, ll. 9-11).

work though this need not be so. By the time of Naldini's publication of the Florence fragments the Origenic identity of these papyri had become a self-fulfilling prophecy. No other possibilities were seriously entertained. It is telling, for example, that Naldini only ever compares the text of *PSI inv.* 2101 with biblical texts or the works of Origen.¹⁷ The contentious issue had ceased to be the authorship of the work.¹⁸ Instead attention was focused on identifying the genre of the work: was it a homily or a commentary? The landscape for the interpretation of both pieces was ultimately fashioned by engagement with *P.Egerton 2*. In order to explore this deductive history it is to *P.Egerton 2* that one should turn.

The text is badly mutilated. Intractable snatches of vocabulary float in great lacunae punctuated here and there by restored biblical citations or allusions. These biblical reference points anchor our understanding of the text. Indeed, they inspired Bell and Skeat's assessment of the piece as a "Gospel commentary". Thus, a broken limb was made to speak for the whole body. Though it is never explicitly said the prevalence of Johannine concepts¹⁹ in fragment 2→ clearly drove the editors to consider (almost exclusively) authors with a known interest in the Gospel of John. According to them a palaeographical dating to the late second or early third-century allowed for insufficient time for Origen's works to be disseminated prior to his departure from Egypt and the idea that his texts could have reached Egypt from Caesarea after his falling out with Demetrius was unthinkable.²⁰ However, third-century witnesses to Origen do exist, such as *P.Bon.* I 1.²¹

¹⁷ Naldini, "Nuovi frammenti origeniani". See also *idem*, "Ancora sui nuovi frammenti origeniani (*PSI inv.* 2101)" and Guida, "Un nuovo testo di Origene".

¹⁸ Leaney is the last to discuss the possibility of an alternate authorship. See "The Authorship of *Egerton Papyrus no 3*," 216–217.

¹⁹ In addition to the passages from John mentioned in n. 4 above, the restoration of fr. 2, r(→), ll. 81–83 (discussed below) assumes an allusion to John 1:9.

²⁰ Bell and Skeat, *Fragments*, 42–43. See for a brief biography of Origen, with critical assessment of Eusebius' narration of the successive condemnations, J.A. McGuckin, *The Westminster Handbook to Origen* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004) 1–23. See Eus., *HE*, 6.19.16–19. That Demetrius maintained hostility against Origen after the latter left Alexandria is assumed on the basis of Origen's own words in *Comm. John*, 6.2.9–10. See also the summary of Pamphilus' account in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 118 (Bekker p. 92a, l. 34–93a, l. 15).

²¹ Ed. pr.: A. Vogliano, "Frammenti di due omelie di Origene," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 15 (1939) 130–136. See also *idem*, "Papyri bolognesi," *Acme* 1 (1948) 217–225 and "Aggiunte e correzioni," *Acme* 1 (1948) 408; O. Montevecchi and G.B. Pighi, "Prima ricognizione dei papiri dell'Università di Bologna," *Aeg* 27 (1947) 161, 174; G.B. Pighi, "Incerti auctoris commentarius in evangelium secundum Matthaeum (*P.Bon.* 12)," *VigChr* 2 (1948) 109–112; R.M. Grant, "New Fragments of the Homilies of Origen," *VigChr* 2 (1948) 161–162; *P.Bon.* I 1 (Montevecchi). VH 688; KV 66; LDAB 3499. *P.Bon.* I 1 consists of a fragment from a papyrus codex, palaeographically dated to the third century, preserving remains of the end of Origen's 35th homily on Luke and the beginning of another homily on Matthew. After the publication of *P.Egerton 2*, *P.Oxy.* III 406 (originally published by

The Tura papyri, from the sixth to seventh centuries, attest to the continued copying of Origen's works even after widespread condemnation of his writings. In a telling acknowledgement that those who copied (and perhaps used) these codices were well aware of Origen's contemporary reputation, the scribe of the *Commentary on Romans* left these words in a marginal note: "I testify that I always marvel at you as being eminent, but never do I read you as orthodox."²²

Without question the successive condemnations of Origen had a significant and tangible impact on the later survival of his works.²³ But the picture which Bell and Skeat adopt of the impossibility of the circulation of his writings subsequent to his falling out with Demetrius cannot be accepted. The independent history provided by the papyrological record forces us to rethink the grand narratives of the literary tradition. Low levels of literacy and the decentralised nature of book production and distribution would have limited enforcement of the condemnation of books to the symbolic at best.²⁴ A ban on an author in the ancient world cannot be assumed to translate into an absence of papyrus manuscripts.

Those in favour of assigning *P.Egerton 2* to Origen are not innocent of subordinating papyrology to the dictates of the literary source record. With sophisticated argumentation, Henry Chadwick established that it was "as good as certain" that this gospel commentary was a piece of Origen.²⁵ His

Grenfell and Hunt in 1903) was assigned to Origen by G. Ausenda, "Contributo allo studio dell'omiletica cristiana nei papiri greci dell'Egitto," *Aeg* 20 (1940) 43–47. *P.Oxy.* III 406 preserves a fragment from a papyrus codex leaf containing a citation of the NT version of Isa 6:10. K. McNamee, "Origen in the papyri," 50–51, does not accept the identification. It is to *P.Bon.* I 1 and *P.Oxy.* XIII 1601 (and not *P.Oxy.* III 406) that R.M. Grant ("More fragments of Origen?," 243, n. 1) referred in countering this argument of Bell and Skeat.

²² Cairo, Egyptian Museum JdE 88747 + 88748, page 8, lower margin: μαρτύρομαι ὡς αἰεὶ σε θαυμάζω, ὡς ἐλλόγιμον οὐδέποτε δὲ ἀναγινώσκω ὡς ὀρθόδοξον. See J. Schérer, *Le commentaire d'Origène sur Rom. III.5–V.7* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1957) 3–5.

²³ Origen's written works were well known outside Egypt according to Porphyry *apud* Eusebius, *HE*, 6.19.4. Yet, Eusebius, in listing those works of Origen composed in Alexandria, was already able to speak of losses (6.24.1–3; 6.32.1–3; 6.36.1–4). Difficulties in the transmission and preservation of Origen's works appear to have existed in his own lifetime. Origen laments the loss of the first five books of his *Commentary on John* and doubted whether they would come to light (6.2.11–12). See on the later controversies, E.M. Harding, "Origenist crises," in *The Westminster Handbook to Origen*, 162–167.

²⁴ See, among others, on literacy and book distribution: K. Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of letters: literacy, power, and the transmitters of early Christian literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); H. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1995); W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989).

²⁵ Chadwick built upon the arguments founded by Grant in favour of assigning the work to Origen. Grant had based his argument on three points ("More Fragments of Origen?," 244): 1) "the exegetical method employed", 2) "the preference for Johannine language and

argument draws parallels between Origen's surviving discourses and the imagined theological viewpoint of the author of *P.Egerton* 2.²⁶ At the conclusion of his article he appeals to palaeographers to rethink their dating, and adds the quip "[b]ut naturally I have no right to an opinion."²⁷ Bell and Skeat's dating was reluctantly affirmed by McNamee in 1973.²⁸ She suggested, however, that an elderly scribe had produced the copy around

the quotation of 2 Tim. 2:19" and 3) "the theological questions involved and the phrasing of their solutions." In the first case, Grant refers only to the "collection of texts (lines 4–12, 69–88) in order to lead to an allegorical or almost allegorical conclusion." This is hardly unique to Origen. The presence of a number of citations from John in fr. 2, →, col. i (John 1:14, 1:29, 6:55, 1:9, 2:6) does not constitute a "preference for Johannine language." However, 2 Tim 2:19 is cited frequently by Origen (cf. *Fragmenta in Evangelium Johannis* fr. 71, 19f.; *Jer.Hom.* 1.8, 21f.; 1.10, 24 f.; *Selecta in Ezechielem* PG 13.789, 30f.; *Comm. John* Bk. 19.4.25, 1f. and Bk. 32.14.154, 2f.; *Comm. Rom.* I, 7.7, 7.8; *Numb.Hom.* 10.2; *Gen.Hom.* 5.6; *Ex.Hom.* 2.2 etc.) and he is the earliest preserved author to cite the text. It is difficult to deduce with certainty the nature of the theological questions and solutions present in the text. In one instance only the matter is clear. The connection made between the λόγος and the incarnate son (the embedding of Phil 2:6 within citation of John 1:14 in fr. 2, →, col. i, ll. 84–87) is found in a number of later patristic works (e.g. Gregory of Nyssa, *De tridui inter mortem et resurrectionem domini nostri Jesu Christi spatio*, vol. 9, p. 304, 15f., *Contra Eunomium* 3.3.20–21, 3.4.19, 1f., 3.4.52, 10f.; Eusebius, *Comm.Is.* Bk. 2.42, 22 f.; *De ecclesiastica theologia* 1.20. 58–65; Athanasius, *Orationes tres contra Arianos*, PG 26.100, 7f., 176, 35f., 260, 36f., *Qui dixerit verbum in filium*, PG 26.656, 26f. etc.). The resonance with Origen as suggested by Grant depends on presupposing the theological motivation for various citations or allusions within the papyrus. The three bases for identification found approval with Leaney ("The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus no. 3," 217).

²⁶ Chadwick evokes the same criteria ("the style, argumentation, and grouping of the biblical references", "The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus No. 3," 150) as Grant in support of identification with Origen. Specific instances to be discussed below.

²⁷ Chadwick, "The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus No. 3," 151: "the form and content are so thoroughly in the manner of Origen that the theologians must ask the palaeographers to think again about the conclusion that, since the codex is in an early third century hand, his name cannot seriously be considered. [...] None of the evidence they (sc. Bell and Skeat) give appears to tell decisively against the possibility or even the probability of a date between 225 and 235." According to Chadwick's pleadings the date of the copy must have been virtually contemporaneous with the date of composition. Support for this hypothesis may be found with *P.Oxy.* III 412, a papyrus roll which preserves on the recto the conclusion to the eighteenth book of Julius Africanus' *Kestoi*. It was reused on the verso for the will of Hermogenes (dated AD 276). The date of the literary composition is assumed to be c. 230 (see J.-R. Vieillefond, *Les "Cestes" de Julius Africanus: Étude sur l'ensemble des fragments avec édition, traduction et commentaires* [Paris: Didier, 1970] 17–18, 278). Either one must assume that the *Kestoi* were rapidly disseminated throughout Egypt soon after their composition or that the copy quickly lost its value soon after it had been produced. That such a substantial copy of Africanus could become scrap material is surprising, especially as there does not seem to have been a superabundance of available manuscripts (as one might suppose for a copy of Homer, for example). A fifty year period between a good quality literary copy and the documentary reuse of the same papyrus is a reasonable estimate, but we can be no more certain than that. See E.G. Turner, "Recto and Verso," *JEA* 40 (1954) 102–106 and "Writing material for businessmen," *BASP* 15 (1978) 163–169.

²⁸ McNamee, "Origen in the papyri," 49–50. She compares the hand with that of *P.Oxy.* X 1231 = XVIII 2166 (Sappho: II), *PSI* XI 1209 [= *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2161] (Aeschylus: II), *P.Oxy.* XX 2256 (Aeschylus: II/III), and *P.Oxy.* XVII 2078 (Critias or Euripides: II) = E.G. Turner,

the mid-third century, retaining the handwriting style he had learnt in his youth. Such was the strength of feeling in favour of Origen that Naldini was able to propose a late third century date for both pieces. In a spectacular example of the subjective nature of palaeographical dating, he supported his assessment with exactly the same papyri used by Bell and Skeat for theirs.²⁹

The responses of Bell and Skeat on the one hand and subsequent scholars on the other to the challenge represented by the date of the papyrus manuscript, illustrate the manner in which the literary tradition casts its shadow over the papyrological evidence. But the interplay between the known and the unknown becomes much more apparent and consequential at the textual level. The urge to civilize the text, to divide its words, punctuate, accentuate and finally restore its text is both inescapable and necessary. The lacunae shriek out a siren's call so that in the end the printed text is not merely the subject of interpretation, it embodies it.³⁰ This is the often forgotten truth of the ventriloquism of editors, speaking through their texts. In the case of unidentified literary papyri, the process of restoration can often become not so much a consequence of the determination of genre or authorship, but an exploration of these questions. Literary texts by their very nature are ill disposed to standardised formulae, and rebellious in the face of cliché. For the purposes of restoration, it is the possibility of intertextual play which can guide our hand. Thus, we know *P.Egerton 2* best through its citations, echoes and adaptations. In the restoration of these intertextual elements we anticipate first an orthodox reading, and only entertain a deviation from the received tradition when so compelled by the papyrus itself.³¹ At this intimate textual level the parallel assimilates the text to the tradition and, as in

Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World (BICSSup 46; ed. P.J. Parsons; London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1987²) no. 17, 24, 25 and 33.

²⁹ Naldini, "Nuovi frammenti origeniani (PSI inv. 2101)," 1, n. 1, offers only two palaeographical comparanda (*P.Oxy.* IV 655 and *P.Beatty* 1)—both of which were used by Bell and Skeat.

³⁰ R.S. Bagnall, "Restoring the text of documents," *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 4 (1988) 109–119, esp. 113: "the restoration makes the text more or less continuous and comprehensible for the nonspecialist, and at the same time illustrates a particular interpretation. [...] the reader from a related discipline, or the nonscholar, will find an unrestored text simply unreadable. No amount of line notes will help."

³¹ So in the case of ἀρπαγμός at fr. 2, →, col. i, ll. 85–86, where the nominative has erroneously been written for the accusative of Phil 2:6. The form ἀρπαγμός is unusual. It appears to be almost exclusive to Phil 2:6 (the bulk of attestations occurring in later citations or discussions of this passage): the exceptions point to a regionally specific variant form (Plut., *De liberalis educandis* 12a1; Phrynichus, *Praeparatio sophistica*, p. 65, 2; Vettius Valens, *Anth. libri* 2.38, 236–237). The usual form was ἀρπάγμα, itself also rare yet not as restricted as ἀρπαγμός. The presence of the nominative form cannot be explained by a misreading or mishearing. It seems likely that the scribe produced the nominative in accordance with the preceding sequence of nominatives (ll. 84–85: ὁ λόγος ὃς ἐν | μορφῇ | θυνύπαρχω(ν) without necessarily being conscious of the grammatical flow of the whole passage.

the documentary sphere, can provide us with no detail we did not already know.³² Yet, the parallel does more than garnish the lacunae in a literary text. It illuminates the literary heritage and aspiration of the author and offers insight into the genre of composition.³³ The significance of the parallel in this context asks that the editor be both exhaustive and cautious in the determination of the possibilities provoked by the surviving text. Once ascertained, the parallel resists easy application to the text: is it to be sewn into the text or used to inspire an emendation? Both editorial practices mirror known ancient compositional practices. Is this sufficient to justify either practice and can one decide between them? A few key examples from *P. Egerton 2* will serve to demonstrate the problem.

An allusion to the opening of the Gospel of John³⁴ was assumed to stand in fr. 2, →:³⁵

78 $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi[\alpha \quad \quad \quad \tau\acute{o} \acute{\alpha}-]$
 $\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\acute{o}[\nu \ \phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma. \ \acute{\eta} \ \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau]\tau[\omega]\nu$
 80 $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\eta} \ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau[\iota\nu \ \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \ \tau\acute{o}]\nu \ \theta\bar{\nu},$
 $\theta\bar{\varsigma}.$

Bell and Skeat took ἀρχή as the nominative subject of the phrase rather than attempt to restore a verbatim citation of the biblical passage. The undeniable present tense of εἰμί, in place of the expected ἦν, seemed to the editors a modification at odds with the ancient exegetical preoccupation with the imperfect.³⁶ In support of this they referred to a passage from Origen's *Commentary on John*.³⁷ Yet, among the patristic authors Gregory

³² So Bagnall, "Restoring the text of documents," 112.

³³ Occasionally documentary texts are open to the same intertextual framing. See the case of the Dioscorus dossier, J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VI^e siècle: La bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, MIFAO 115/2, 1999), esp. vol. II, 684–690. See the possible example of the use of the Homeric term *μεγάθυμος* in the address of *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67289v (Private account, Aphrodite:VI), ll. 1–4: *δεσπότη μου τῷ σοφωτ(άτῳ) καὶ φιλοχρ(ίστῳ) μεγαθ(ύ)μ[ῳ] προστά(τῃ) Εὐτυχιανῷ [σ]χολ(αστικῷ), [Φλ(άνιος)] Κοσμᾶς νοτάρ(ιος) Δωροθέου [στρ]ατηλ(άτου) ξο().* The appearance of this term in Greek literature is exclusively found in poetic and especially hexametric attestations (it is attested 62 times in the *Iliad* and 14 times in the *Odyssey*). The same proclivity towards metrical usage is evident in the inscriptional attestation of *μεγάθυμος*, e.g. IG IX,1 649 (Kephallenia: VI BC), l. 2; I.Stratonikeia I.206 (Caria: Roman Period), ll. 5–6; AE (1916) 65–67 (Epeiros: VI AD), l. 4.

³⁴ John 1:1 ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.

³⁵ This text is that proposed by Bell and Skeat (1935) 51 in the notes to ll. 79–80. The reading printed in the main body of the text is as follows: τὸ ἄ-|ληθινὸ[ν φῶς...].|. | ἀρχὴ ἐστ[ιν] πρὸς τὸ ν̄ θ̄ν, | θ̄ς.

³⁶ Bell and Skeat, *Fragments*, 50–51. See for detailed consideration of the implication of ἦν in John 1:1, Basil of Caesarea, *In Mamantem martyrem*, PG 31.597, 23f. and Gregory of Nyssa, *Adversus Arium et Sabellium de patre et filio*, vol. 3.1, p. 81, 4f. among others.

³⁷ Origen, *Comm. John* Bk. 1.19.115–116: ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφίστημι εἰ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας. οὐ χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν παχύτερον εἰπεῖν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄντων εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγοντα·

of Nyssa does not shy away from the using the present tense in his adaptation of the opening of John.³⁸ The broader theological concern about the nature of Christ in this passage from Gregory accords well with the themes evoked by the citations from John found in fragment 2, →. An alternative reconstruction of lines 79 to 81 may be proposed on the basis of parallels drawn from Gregory:³⁹

78 ...τὸν ἁ-]
 ληθινὸ[ν λόγον, ὃ]ς [ἐ]ν
 80 ἄρχῃ ἐστ[ιν πρὸς τὸ]ν θν,
 θς.

The only way to decide between the two restorations is to consider the likelihood and nature of variation in the patristic citation of John 1:1. The adaptation proposed by Bell and Skeat cannot be paralleled in patristic writings up to the fourth century. It would seem that the patristic authors regarded the phrase ἐν ἀρχῇ as more fundamental to the citation of the passage than the tense of the verb.

In the following lines, Bell and Skeat have restored the phrase “This is the true light, sun shining beyond our sun”:

81 τοῦτ[ό ἐστιν τὸ φ]ῶς
 τὸ ἀληθινόν, ἥλιος ὑπ[ὲρ τὸ]
 ἥλιο[ν] ἡμ[ῶν φ]ωτίζῶ.

The phrase “sun beyond the sun”, used for Jesus as son of God, makes for a pretty pun in English. However, the notion of a ἥλιος ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον is otherwise unparalleled in Greek literature. Given the recurrence of allusions to the Gospel of John and the explicit mention at least once in the preceding lines of the “true light”, an extended citation of John 1:9 (ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον) might be expected. Yet, the masculine nominative participle in line 83 forces us to look beyond τὸ φῶς for a subject. The John passage was popular and frequently cited in the patristic period.⁴⁰ Eusebius united it with the influential words of

³⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 3.1.14: αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεόν ἐστὶ, θεὸς ὢν καὶ λόγος καὶ ζωὴ καὶ φῶς καὶ χαρακτήρ καὶ ἀπαύγασμα.

³⁹ For the ἀληθινὸς λόγος see Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 3.9.37, 12 f. οὕτω φαμέν καὶ τὸν ἀληθινὸν λόγον τὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντα διαγγέλλοντα τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς τὴν βουλὴν τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἐπονομαζόμενον ἄγγελον λέγεσθαι. If one wanted to preserve the τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς suggested by Bell and Skeat and perhaps supported by the probable τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν of ll. 81–82, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐστὶν πρὸς τὸν θν, θς may be preferable.

⁴⁰ See e.g. Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, Bk. 1.1.19, 24f.; Tertullian, *Adversus Praxean* 12.5; *de resurrectione mortuorum* 59.6; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 5.11, 11f.; 6.5, 6f.; 6.59, 13f.; *Comm. John* 1.25.159, 7f.; 20.33.288, 5f.; *Fragmenta in Evangelium Johannis*, fr. 6, 16–24; *Jer.Hom.*

Malachi 4:2⁴¹ (*Ecl. proph.* p. 134, 5f.: ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης τὸ φῶς ἐστὶν τὸ ἀληθινὸν τὸ φωτίζον πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον).⁴² Eusebius' insertion of this "sun of righteousness" into John 1:9 offers one possible means of reconstructing the sentiment of the papyrus text.⁴³

Bell and Skeat made reference only to Sirach 42:16 (ἥλιος φωτίζων κατὰ πᾶν ἐπέβλεψεν, καὶ τῆς δόξης κυρίου πλήρης τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ). Yet, this passage does not contain a contrast between divine and earthly powers, as implied by the phrase ἥλιος ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον. The Lord is likened to the sun in the New Testament.⁴⁴ However, the central idea presented by the London papyrus is the subordination of the sun to the illuminating power of Christ, which may be compared with Revelation 22:5 (καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν χρεῖαν φωτὸς λύχνου καὶ φῶς ἡλίου, ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς φωτίζει ἐπ' αὐτούς).⁴⁵ By restoring κύριος ὁ θεός in line 82 with the sacred names contracted as elsewhere we may avoid the difficulty of a "sun beyond the sun":

81 τοῦτ[ό ἐστιν τὸ φ]ῶς
 τὸ ἀληθι[νόν, κς ὁ θς ὑπ]ὲρ τῷ
 ἥλιο[ν] ἡμ[ῶν φ]ωτίζῳ.

Chadwick compared the contrast between the sensible and heavenly sun with passages taken from Origen's *Contra Celsum*.⁴⁶ Though Origen cites many

9.1, 4f.; 14.10, 3f.; *Philocalia*, 15.7, 5f.; Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium* 5.9.20, 2f.; 7.22.4, 2f.; Cyprian, *Ad Quirinum* 1.7; Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* 4.26.14; Gregory of Nyssa, *Refutatio confessionis Eunomii*, 115, 15 f.; Eusebius, *Ecl. proph.* p. 100, 10f.; p. 134, 5f.; p. 139, 14f.; *Comm. Ps.* PG 23.501, 1f.; PG 23.1272, 31f.; Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, 67.7, 2f.; *Panarion*, vol. 1, p. 428, 18; vol. 2, p. 265, 12f.; vol. 2, p. 397, 19f.; vol. 3, p. 104, 17f.; vol. 3, p. 319, 4f.; Gregory of Nazianzus, *de spiritu sancto* 3, 9f. and others.

⁴¹ Malachi 4:2, καὶ ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά μου ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἱσχύς ἐν ταῖς πτέρυσιν αὐτοῦ. See also the *4th Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (4.24.1).

⁴² See later also Gregory of Nyssa, *In inscriptions Psalmorum* vol. 5, p. 84, 8f.: ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ὁ αἰσθητὸς ἥλιος φωτίζει τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς, ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος, ὃς ἀνατολὴ ὑπὸ τῆς προφητείας κατονομάζεται διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε δυσμαΐς συγκαλύπτεσθαι. The reference to the man named ἀνατολή is drawn from Zech 6:12 (ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ, ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ).

⁴³ On the sun of righteousness, see also: Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 11.114.3, 3f.; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6.79, 4f.; 7.22, 9f.; 7.31, 15f.; *Fragmenta in Evangelium Johannis*, fr. 34, 14 f.; *Comm. Matt.* Bk. 16.3, 128f.; *Scholia in Apocalypsem*, Schol. 18, 14f.; *Selecta in Psalmos*, PG 12.1241, 45f.; Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 7.15.5–6; *Dem. evang.* 4.10.16, 1f.; 5.29.1, 5f. etc.

⁴⁴ Matt 17:2 καὶ μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔλαμψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς. The same simile is used of angelic figures in Rev 1:16 and 10:2. See also in the patristic literature: Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 9.84.2; Eusebius, *Comm. Psalm.* PG 23.1016, 42f. and 50 f.

⁴⁵ See also Is 60:19–20, Sirach 23:19, Rev 21:23 and Acts 26:13.

⁴⁶ Chadwick, "The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus No. 3," 148–150. See Origen, *Contra Celsum* 5.10: οὐ τοίνυν ἦν εὐλογον τοὺς διδασθέντας μεγαλοφῶς ὑπερاناβαίνειν πάντα τὰ δημιουργήματα καὶ ἐλπίζειν τὰ ἄριστα περὶ αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ βίῳ καὶ ἀκούσαντας τὸ ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου (Matt 5:14) καὶ τὸ λαμνᾶτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν

biblical passages in this discussion, the only one also found in *P.Egerton 2* is John 1:9.⁴⁷ In the passages from the *Contra Celsum* the contrast between the two lights is marked by the adjectives ἀληθινόν and αἰσθητόν. This phraseology recurs in Origen's discussion of Christ as light in his *Commentary on John* and seems both essential to his broader theology and particular to his distinction between the sensible sun and its divine counterpart. One would expect this theological contrast to be made explicit through the use of such terminology rather than evoked by the use of the prepositional phrase with ὑπέρ in a work of Origen.⁴⁸

A more problematic context for restoration is provided by fragment 1, →, col. i:⁴⁹

	[	πνε]ῦμα πο[νηρόν]	
	[	γέ]γραπτα[ι· πα-]	Matt 4:5
5	[	ραλαμβάνει] ὁ διάβολο[ς]	
	[	τὸν τῷ εἰς τὴν ἀ]γίαν πόλ[ιν]	
	[	καὶ ἔστησεν αὐ]τὸν ἐπὶ τ[ῷ]	
	[	πτερύγιον το]ῦ ἱεροῦ. κ[αὶ]	
	[	πάλιν γέγραπτ]αι· πολλὰ σώ-	Matt 27:52
10	[	ματα τῶν κε]κοιμημένῳ	
	[	ἀγίων ἡγέρθ]η καὶ εἰσῆλ-	Matt 27:53
	[	θεν εἰς τὴν ἀγ]ίαν πόλιν	
	[	πα]ρ' ἡμῖν πο-	
	[	]πος ἐκεῖνος	
15	[	]εως κόσμου	
	[	]· πόλιν	
	[	]ον ἀπε-	

ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως ἴδωσι τὰ καλὰ ὑμῶν ἔργα καὶ δοξάσωσι τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (Matt 5:16), ἀσκούντας ἔχειν τὴν λαμπράν καὶ ἀμάραντον σοφίαν, ἣ καὶ ἀνειληφότας αὐτὴν οὖσαν ἀπαύγασμα (Hebr 1:3) φωτὸς αἰδίου (Wisd 7:26), καταπλαγῆναι τὸ αἰσθητὸν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἄστρων φῶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε διὰ τὸ αἰσθητὸν φῶς ἐκείνων νομίσαι αὐτοὺς κάτω ποῦ εἶναι, ἔχοντας τηλικούτον νοητὸν γνώσεως φῶς καὶ φῶς ἀληθινόν (John 1:9) καὶ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου (Matt 5:14) καὶ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων (John 1:4), κἀκεῖνοις προσκυνῆσαι: The discussion here is informed by Deut 4:19 (cf. Deut 17:3). See also Origen, *Contra Celsum* 5.11, 7.31 and *Comm. John* 1.25.158–26.180; Gregory of Nyssa, *Inscriptiones Psalmorum* vol. 5, p. 84, 8f.; Asterius, *Comm. Psalm.* Hom. 20.4, 4f.; Didymus the Blind, *Comm. Zecch.* 5.71, 1f.; *Comm. Eccl.* p. 26, 18f. and others.

⁴⁷ The absence of Matt 5:14 and John 8:12, both key passages in Origen's discussion of this theme (see above and *Fragmenta in Evangelium Johannis*, fr. 6, 11 f.), is perhaps also significant.

⁴⁸ The term αἰσθητόν perhaps appeared in *PSI inv.* 2101 (fr. 1, ↓, l. 8:], της αἰσθη[), though no trace of the counterpoint ἀληθινόν may be found there. *PSI inv.* 2101 does not contain the key verses used by Origen in his discussion of this theme, but does contain a probable citation of John 3:26 (fr. 2, →, ll. 9–11).

⁴⁹ Text as in ed.pr.

[] του οι
[] κει

In so far as the text of this mutilated column can be established, only two citations may be identified with certainty, both taken from Matthew. The theme, in so far as it may be discerned, is that of the Holy City. This is particularly evident from the apparent truncation of the first citation (cf. Matt 4:5: τότε παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν, καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, βάλε σεαυτὸν κάτω). Matthew 4:5 was infrequently cited. When it was, the citation always included the taunt of the Devil which was clearly considered to be the centerpiece of its theological significance.⁵⁰ No citation of the passage can be found which eliminated this element. The passage itself was not cited in the surviving works of Origen. However, the second citation of Matthew 27:52–53 was both popular and controversial:⁵¹ was the Holy City the earthly Jerusalem or the heavenly city of God? Were the holy resurrected in body to walk among the living once more or did they ascend to God's city? Grant and Leaney were persuaded by passages from Origen's *De principiis* (4.3.8f.) and *Commentary on John* (Bk. 10.23,132, 1f.) that the same theological emphasis on the heavenly nature of the ἁγία πόλις was present in fragment 1, →, col. i.⁵² Accordingly, both proposed their own restorations:

Grant:⁵³
[ἡ δὲ ἁγία πα]ρ' ἡμῖν πό-
[λις ἐστὶν ὁ τό]πος ἐκεῖνος
15 [ἡμῖν ἀπὸ κτίσ]εως κόσμου
[ἡτοιμασμένους], ἡ πόλις
[γὰρ ἡμέτερα ἐξ] οὗ ἀπε-
[κδεχόμεθα κν τν χ]υ ου οι

Leaney:
[οὐκ εἰς τὴν πα]ρ' ἡμῖν πό-
[λιν: ἐστὶ γὰρ ὁ τό]πος ἐκεῖνος
[ἀορατος ἀπο κτίσ]εως κόσμου.

⁵⁰ See Eus. *Dem. Evang.* 9.7.23, 1f. (citation to the end of Matt 4:6); Catenae in Matt p. 25, 30f.; John of Damascus, *Sacra parallela* PG 95.1408, 2f. Cf. Asterius, *Comm.Ps.* Hom. 18.8, 7f.; Didymus the Blind, *de trinitate* PG 39.633, 10f.; John Chrysostom, *In Matt.* PG 57.211, 47f. etc.

⁵¹ See, among others, Origen, *Comm. Matt.* Bk. 12.43, 34f. (Matt 27:52); *Selecta in Psalmos* PG 12.1125, 53f. (Matt 27:52); *Comm. John* Bk. 19.16.103, 4f. (Matt 27:50–52); Eusebius, *Dem.Evang.* 4.12.4, 1f. (Matt 27:52); *Contra Marcellum* 1.2.15–16 (Matt 27:52); *Comm. Ps.* PG 23.1064, 25f. (Matt 27:52); Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, 100.2–4 etc.

⁵² Grant ("More fragments of Origen?," 245) also made reference to the *Contra Celsum* 8.74, 6f., while Leaney ("The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus no. 3," 214) added the Latin of *Comm.Ser.Matt.*, p. 139. The significance of the latter for the interpretation of *P.Egerton 2* was rightly questioned by Chadwick ("The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus No. 3," 146).

⁵³ Grant's restorations were loosely based on Matt 25:34 and Phil 3:20, while Leaney preferred reference to Rom 1:20, as originally suggested by Bell and Skeat (*Fragments*, 49). The problems created by Grant's restoration are treated amply by Leaney ("The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus no. 3," 213).

These do not adhere closely to the phraseology of biblical or patristic parallels, but are prose compositions inspired by biblical passages and Origen's theology.⁵⁴ Grant had suggested that the accumulation of passages concerning the ἁγία πόλις on the papyrus was comparable to Origen's working method in the *Commentary on John* (Bk 10.23.131, 1f.).⁵⁵ Yet, neither *Matt* 4:5 nor 27:52–53 is found among the passages cited by Origen in his discussion of Jerusalem as ἁγία πόλις in *de principiis* (4.3.8f.).⁵⁶ The connection between Origen and his conception of the heavenly Jerusalem on the one hand and the passages from Matthew on the other could not be made solely by reference to Origen's surviving works. Chadwick attempted to identify in Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew* (PL 26.213b) an Origenic attitude to the ἁγία πόλις of 4:5 and 27:53.⁵⁷ Yet, Jerome's position on whether this ἁγία πόλις was heavenly or earthly vacillates from work to work.⁵⁸ In any case, Chadwick believed that it was unlikely that the sole theological concern here could have been the identity of the Holy City.⁵⁹ He thought that the citation of Matthew 4:5, where the Devil enters the Holy City, raised a deeper theological problem concerning the nature of admission to the heavenly Jerusalem which would have interested Origen. In supplying these Origenic parallels are we identifying or importing Origenic theology in the text? Are the textual traces sufficient to justify such acts of restoration and, if so, what status ought these restorations assume, when all we can be sure about is the appearance of two citations from Matthew?

Thus, might we also have reason to rethink the restoration provided by Bell and Skeat for the preceding line three? The first edition read there πνεῦμα πονηρόν] without justification. A reference to an evil spirit prior

⁵⁴ The same is true of Leaney's suggested restoration for fragment 2, →, ll. 72–73 ("The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus no. 3," 214). Where Bell and Skeat (*Fragments*, 47) read only δῆ-]λον ὅτ[ι ...]νο[] ἵνα θυθ[] ἐξέρχου[εν], Leaney proposed δῆ-]λον ὅτ[ι ὁ ἀμ]νός [ς ἀληθής] ἵνα θυθ[ῃ] πρὸ ἡμῶν παρὰ τοῦ π[α]τ[ρός] ἐξέρχου[ενος] on the basis of John 16:27.

⁵⁵ Here Origen cites in quick succession John 2:13, *Matt* 5:35, *Ps* 124:2, *Ps* 121:3–4. This characteristic is a central feature of Grant's argument in favour of assigning *P.Egerton* 2 to Origen ("More fragments of Origen?," 244).

⁵⁶ There Origen cites *Gal* 4:26 and *Hebr* 12:22. The two references from Matthew are not the only references to Jerusalem as ἁγία πόλις in the Septuagint and New Testament. See also *Ezra* ii 21:1; *Tobit* 13:9; *Obad* 7:28; *Joel* 3:17; *Is* 52:1, 66:20; *Dan* 3:28; *Rev* 21:2, 21:10, 22:19. The principal of selection had thus two elements: references to the ἁγία πόλις which were to be found within Matthew (or, at least, the New Testament writings, excluding Revelation).

⁵⁷ Chadwick, "The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus No. 3," 146: "it is well known that Jerome's commentaries are deeply indebted to him (sc. Origen)".

⁵⁸ In addition to the open question posed in Jerome's *Comm. Matt.*, cf. *Ep.* 46.7 and 120.8, the former of which argues for an earthly Jerusalem. This epistle was overlooked by Chadwick. On the shifting positions of Jerome, see B. Bitton-Ashkeloney, *Encountering the Sacred: the Debate on Christian Pilgrimage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) 79–80.

⁵⁹ Chadwick, "The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus No. 3," 147–148.

to mention of the Devil does not seem out of place and may be supported with parallels drawn from the Septuagint.⁶⁰ Yet, the presentation of this restoration in the body of the text may have obscured another possibility. Given two citations which both mention the ἁγία πόλις and the probable reference to πόλις again in line sixteen of the same column, it may be preferable to read Ἱεροσόλ[υμα πόλ]ις.⁶¹ In this case ought the contextual affinities play a greater role in restoration than numerically superior parallels? Or do competing restorations authorise only silence in the body of the text?

Before we resolve to err too much on the side of caution, a final example pulls in the opposite direction. No scholar has been sufficiently bold to attempt to restore more than a citation of 2 Timothy in the second column of fragment 2, ↓:⁶²

- 125 [] . . . γὺξ τ.
 [] ω[.] . ἀπο . . .
 [] ὁ Ζαχα-
 [ρίας] αὐτοῦ
 καὶ [] γ παρ' αὐ-
 130 τοῦ [. . . Παῦλος] δὲ ἐν
 τῇ [β πρὸς Τιμόθε]ον λέγε[ι].
 ἔγν[ω κς τοὺς ὄν]τα[ς] αὐ-
 τοῦ α[] μερο[.]

Yet, the appearance of a probable reference to Zechariah in line twenty-seven has elicited a pair of suggestions. Bell and Skeat refrained from speculation. But Grant was drawn in by the appearance of the word γὺξ and proposed an allusion to Zechariah 14:7 (ἔσται μίαν ἡμέραν, καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη γνωστὴ τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἡμέρα καὶ οὐ γὺξ, καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἔσται φῶς).⁶³ Leaney made use of Origen's citation of this passage in a catena found in the *Commentary on Luke* ascribed to Peter of Laodicea, where darkness is interpreted as a lack of the light of the father, of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, in order to sustain Grant's hypothesis.⁶⁴ Chadwick was

⁶⁰ E.g. Judges 9:23, 1 Kings 16:14, Job 8:2 etc. In the New Testament, see (in the singular only) Acts 19:15 and 16. The Devil is described as a πνεῦμα πονηρόν in the Testamentum Salomonis, *Narratio de propheta et sapientissimo rege Salomone*, p. 107, 1.

⁶¹ Cf. Tobit 13:10. This variant spelling is found in the New Testament also, cf. John 11:55, Matt 5:35 etc. It is also found outside the biblical sphere: e.g. Josephus, *JA* 8.198, 5; Origen, *Comm. John* Bk. 13.13.83, 5; Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* 9.34.12, 1 etc.

⁶² The reference to the θ[ε]ῶ[λ]ασσα[ν] [τῆς][Γαλιλ]αί[ας] was taken by Grant ("More fragments of Origen?," 245) to be an allusion to Matt 4:18 (see also 15:29, Mark 1:6, 7:31 and John 6:1). If the restoration of Bell and Skeat is secure, Grant's hypothesis seems reasonable. Too little has survived of the crucial Γαλιλαίας, however, to be certain.

⁶³ Grant, "More fragments of Origen?," 245.

⁶⁴ Leaney, "The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus no. 3," 215–216. Fr. 82 (= Or. XI, p. 273) = Schol. Matt., PG 17.308, 40f. (with cit. of Zech.) εἰπὼν δὲ 'τὸ σκότος' τὸ ἐσκοτίσθαι τοὺς

avoid the need for parallels, for without justification our act of restoration becomes an exercise in Greek prose composition. Yet, by seeking out Origen, we make him materialise in the text. Without having a preserved title, an explicit statement of authorship, or correlation with an extensive literary fragment, there can be no certainty. In this search for the known we have lost countless possibilities.

Unidentified literary texts of theological content outnumber identified theological papyri in the period before Constantine's victory.⁶⁷ It is undoubtedly the case that the papyri offer us the chance to see a lost history of emergent Christian literature. But how do we let this material speak? We should begin by concentrating not so much on what is missing from the picture, but on what survives. Rather than trying to make the text conform to what we already know, it may be better to let the papyri direct our investigation.

In the case of the London and Florence fragments, two possible avenues for such research emerge. First, only a small group of two-column codices have survived from the second to the fourth centuries.⁶⁸ A brief survey of

⁶⁷ Unidentified texts of purported theological content (=32): *P.Ash.inv.* 2 (III); *P.Iand.* V 70 (III); *P.Lit.Palau Rib.* 20 (III); *P.Col.* XI 295 (III/IV); *P.Yale* II 88 (III/IV); *PSI* XI 1200 bis (II); *P.Mich.* XVIII 764 (II/III); *P.Gen.* III 125 (II/III); *P.Mich.* XVIII 763 (II/III); *P.Lit.Lond.* 228 (III); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2070 (III²); *P.Ryl.* III 469 (III²); *P.Eirene* I 2 (III/IV); *P.Med.inv.* 71.84 (III/IV); *P.Strasb.inv.* 1017 (III/IV); *BKT* IX 22 (II/III); *P.Egerton* 2 (III); *PSI inv.* 2101 (III); *P.Ant.* III 112 (III); *P.Giss.Univ.* II 17 (III); *P.Hamb.* II 141 (III); *P.Merton* II 51 (III); *P.Oxy.* III 406 (III); *P.Oxy.* II 210 (III); *Washington Freer MS* 5 (III²); *P.Laur.inv.* III/298b (III²); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2072 (III²); *Schøyen MS* 193 (III/IV); *P.Med.inv.* 277 (III/IV); *P.Oxy.* I 5 (III/IV); *P.Coll.Youtie* I 5 (IV¹); *P.Vindob.G* 29345 (IV¹). Identified texts of theological content (excluding apocrypha and prayers) (=24): *P.Oxy.* III 405 (Irenaeus, II/III); *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4706 (Hermas, II/III); *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4705 (Hermas, III¹); *P.Oxy.* III 412 (Julius Africanus, III¹); *P.Mich.* II.2 130 (Hermas, III); *BKT* VI.2 1 (Hermas, III/IV); *P.Jena* (Irenaeus, III/IV); *P.Iand.* I 4 (Hermas, II); *P.Oxy.* L 3528 (II/III); *P.Oxy.* L 3528 (Hermas, II/III); *P.Oxy.* L 3527 (III¹); Paris, *Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Gr.* 1120 (Philo, III); *P.Oxy.* IX 1173 (Philo, III); *P.Mich.* II.2 129 (Hermas, III); *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4707 (Hermas, III); *P.Oxy.* XV 1828 (Hermas, III); *PSI* VII 757 (Barnabas, III); *P.Bon.* I 1 (Origen, III); *P.Amst.* I 25 (Origen, III/IV); *P.Bodmer* 13 (Melito, III/IV); *Schøyen MS* 193 (Melito, III/IV); *P.Oxy.* III 404 (Hermas, III/IV); *P.Schøyen* I 22 (Origen, IV¹); *P.Lit.Lond.* 223 (Aristides, IV¹); *P.Beatty* 12 + *P.Mich.inv.* 5553 (Melito, IV¹). The works of Hermas and the letters of Barnabas, it may be argued, represent a significantly different register of theological discussion than, for instance, the works of Origen or Philo. Exempting these texts from the list, the total comes to 12.

⁶⁸ Two-column codices on papyrus (according to LDAB, 2008) up to the fourth century: *P.Baden* IV 56 (Exodus, Deuteronomy: II); Geneva, *Bibliothèque* 187 (Antonius Diogenes?, *Ta hyper thoulén apista?*: II); *BKT* IX 185 (Demosthenes, *Olynthiaca*: II/III); *P.Oxy.* LXII 4310 (Demosthenes, *Olynthiaca*: II/III); Monterra, *Abadia de Montserrat* II.1 + *Oxford Magdalen College Gr.* 17 + Paris, *Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Gr.* 1120 (Matthew, Luke: II/III); *P.Beatty* VI 6 (Numbers, Deuteronomy: II/III); *P.Berl.inv.* 13236 (Thucydides, *Hist.*: II/III); Cairo, Egyptian Museum, *P.Medinet Madi* 69.43 (Glossary to *Iliad*: II/III); *P.Oxy.* LX 4029 (Aeschines, *In Timarch.*: III); *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4503 (Anubion, Astrology: III); *P.Ryl.* III 529 (Heliodorus?, *On surgery*: III); *P.Ryl.* III 3.536 (Glossary to *Iliad*: III); Berlin, *Staatsbibliothek MS Gr. fol.* 66, I, II + Warsaw, *Institute of Papyrology*, *P.Berlin* G.2a-17b, 46–61 (Genesis: III); *P.Ryl.* III 532 (Ptolemaios, *Episemon poleon kanon* and astronomy: III); *P.Köln* VII 304 + *P.Oxy.* LVII

their content suggests that the format was used at a high level of education, perhaps even for professional study.⁶⁹ However, commentaries for this period are predominantly found either in single-column codices or in rolls, a majority of which represent secondary uses of the papyrus.⁷⁰ If one is to speak then of professional study, one must see two levels of textual production operating simultaneously for this purpose and perhaps reflecting two distinct engagements or social groups. Greater understanding of the two-column codex format may tell us more about the context of use and hence provide insight into the genre of the text preserved.

Secondly, our greatest source of information about the nature of the text is provided by the citations. Origen, in this case, can provide an excellent source for comparative material. Leaney had attempted to argue that *P.Egerton 2* must preserve part of a homily as the phrase ὡς γέγραπται (probably attested in line 4 and possible at lines 9, 74 and 124) was more characteristic of homily than of commentary.⁷¹ Yet, a survey of the occurrences of γέγραπται as a means of introducing a citation in two comparable bodies of text, Origen's Homilies on Jeremiah and two books of his commentary

3885 + *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3450 + *P.Ryl.* III 548 + *P.Genève 2* (Thucydides, *Hist.*: III); Oxford, Sackler Library, Pap. rooms, *P.Antin.* 3 (tachygraphic comm.: III); *BKT IX* 204 (tachygraphic comm.: III); *P.Palau Rib.Lit.* 28 (rhetorical and mythological works: III); *P.Mil.Vogl.* III 124 (Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*: III/IV); *P.Ryl.* II 487 (Lysias, *Pro Eratosthenes* + *Pro Eryximacho*: III/IV); *PSI I 2* = *PSI II 124* (Matthew, Luke: III/IV); *P.Köln 7.295* (tachygraphic comm.: III/IV); London, *British Library Pap.* 2561 (tachygraphic comm.: IV); London, *British Library Pap.* 2562 (tachygraphic comm.: IV); *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2551 = *SB VI 9624* (Egyptian King list and astronomical work: IV); *Schøyen MS* 193 (Melito + 1 Peter + Jonas + 2 Macc + work on easter: IV); *P.Oxy.* LXI 4819 (Homer, *Iliad*: IV).

⁶⁹ This position differs slightly from that of Turner, *Typology*, 35–37, who attributes the two-column format to “high-class” codex production. A professional level of study is perhaps identifiable in the high number of technical treatises as well as the presence of exemplary rhetorical models (Thucydides, Demosthenes, Lysias, etc.) and paraliterary works (glossaries, mythological texts, etc.), but these works are certainly not restricted to this format alone.

⁷⁰ E.g. rolls: *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4426 (commentary on Aratus, *Phaenomena*: II/III); *P.Ryl.* I 24r (scholia on the *Iliad*: I); *P.Köln IX* 401r (astronomical comm.: II); *P.Köln IX* 400v (reuse of the previous text for a commentary on Aratus, *Phaenomena*: III); *P.Oxy.* XXI 2306 (commentary on Alcaeus: II); *P.Oxy.* XXI 2307 (commentary on Alcaeus: II); *P.Oxy.* XXXV 2733v (reuse of a document for commentary on Alcaeus: II); *P.Oxy.* XXXV 2734 (commentary on Alcaeus: II); *P.Amh.* II 12v (reuse of an account for Aristarchus' commentary on Herodotus: III); *P.Oxy.* LXV 4445 (commentary on Herodotus: III); *P.Lond.Lit.* 175 (allegorical commentary on the *Iliad*: III); Milan, Università Cattolica, *P.Med.* 210v (reuse of a second century document for Homer's *Odyssey* with commentary: III); *P.Oxy.* XLI 2947v (reuse of a copy of Triphiodorus for a commentary, perhaps, of Triphiodorus: III/IV); Florence, Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli”, *PSI inv.* 516 (grammatical commentary: III) etc. Codices: *MPER NS* 3.20 (commentary on Aristophanes, *Clouds*: V); *MPER NS I* 34 (commentary on Aristophanes, *Peace*: V); *P.Köln IV* 176 (commentary on *Ars Grammatica*: IV); *P.Berl. inv.* 13282 (commentary on the *Iliad*: III); *PSI X* 1173 (commentary on the *Odyssey*: III); *P.Yale II* 106 (rhetorical treatise and commentary: III), etc.

⁷¹ Leaney, “The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus no. 3,” 217.

on Matthew, attest to exactly the same number of occurrences.⁷² In general, discussions of the difference between Origen's homilies and commentaries have emphasised only a disparity between the extent of exegesis.⁷³ But what may be more useful for dealing with unidentified theological fragments is a study of the pattern of citation within different genres.⁷⁴ As ought to be the case with the furnishing of parallels, a broad chronological scope for citation treats the surviving literary corpus as the incomplete symptom of a less visible textual tradition. A brief comparison between the tenth book of Origen's *Commentary on Matthew* and the first five homilies on Jeremiah hints at a subtle difference.⁷⁵ Origen anchored his exegesis in the homilies with more frequent citation of the key text than in his commentaries. Of interest also may be the manner in which particular citations are grouped together. The clusters found in the London fragment sometimes coincide with clusters found in a number of later Christian authors.⁷⁶ Such repetition may cast light on the stabilising effect of an influential treatment or ancient compilation of passages on a theological point. This sort of analysis may shed light not only on the identity of the text, but on the history of how Christians used and accessed their sacred books. We may gain far more through ambivalence, through withholding opinion and letting the papyrus speak, than by hunting for Origen in every lacuna.

⁷² Chadwick ("The Authorship of Egerton Papyrus No. 3," 150–151) had already anticipated these results.

⁷³ See, among others, É. Junod, "Wodurch unterscheiden sich die Homilien des Origenes von seinen Kommentaren?" in *Predigt in der alten Kirche* (ed. E. Mühlenberg and J. van Oort; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1994) 50–81 and B. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe* (Basel: Reinhardt, 1978). On commentary in general see H. Balthussen, "From polemic to exegesis: the ancient philosophical commentary," *Poetics Today* 28 (2007) 247–281.

⁷⁴ See e.g. C.D. Osburn, "Methodology in identifying Patristic citations in NT textual criticism," *NT* 47 (2005) 313–343; A. van den Hoek, "Techniques of quotation in Clement of Alexandria: A view of ancient literary working methods," *VigChr* 50 (1996) 223–243; C.D. Stanley, "Paul and Homer: Greco-Roman citation practice in the first century CE," *NT* 32 (1990) 48–79; G. Madec, "Les embarras de la citation," *FZPhTh* 29 (1982) 361–372; N. Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les citations du Nouveau Testament dans les livres à Autolycus de Théophile d'Antioche," *Papers presented to the Sixth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1971* (Berlin: Akad.-Verlag, 1975) 371–382.

⁷⁵ Using the editions of R. Girod, *Origène: Commentaire sur l'Évangile selon Matthieu*, vol. I, Livres x et xi (SC 162; Paris: Cerf, 1970) and P. Nautin, P. Husson, *Origène: Homélie sur Jérémie*, vol. I, Homélie i–xi (SC 232; Paris: Cerf, 1976).

⁷⁶ E.g. the cluster of John 1:14 and John 1:29 (Fr. 2, →, col. i) is found also in Origen, *Comm. John* 10.17.97–99; the two are combined with John 1:1 in Epiphanius, *Panarion*, vol. 2.252, 1f.; the cluster of Phil 2:6 and John 1:9 is found again in Basil, *Adversus Eunomium*, PG 29.677, 44 f. (there also in proximity to a citation of John 1:1 and Hebr. 1:3, among others); [John Chrysostom], *de sancta trinitate*, PG 48.1089, 65–75 (again with John 1:1); Theodoret, *de sancta trinitate*, PG 75.1153, 10–16 (again with John 1:1 and Hebr 1:3).

CHAPTER THREE

PAPYRUS OXYRHYNCHUS X 1224

Paul Foster

1. *Introduction*

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1224 (*P.Oxy. X 1224*) remains one of the least studied of the non-canonical gospel-like texts. The reason for this relative lack of interest stems from the highly fragmentary nature of the text. Although comprising of two papyrus fragments of significantly different sizes and preserving the remains of six columns of text, none of these textual units contains a complete pericope. Notwithstanding these severe limitations, both the physical features of the fragments and the partial texts preserved raise an array of fascinating papyrological, codicological, and textual questions.

2. *The Discovery of P.Oxy. X 1224*

As the classification reference testifies, these two scraps of papyrus were excavated at the now famous site of Oxyrhynchus. Work commenced at the location of the modern Egyptian village of el-Behnesa (ancient Oxyrhynchus), a hundred and sixty kilometres south of Cairo and some fifteen kilometres west of the Nile, during the cooler winter season of 1896–97. After some random textual finds from Egypt had come to light in the late nineteenth century, the Egypt Exploration Fund agreed to devote some funds to the more systematic recovery of ancient Greek texts from Egypt. Such an uncertain and unpromising venture was entrusted to two junior Oxford scholars, Bernhard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, both members of The Queen's College. It was due to their investigations that the site at Oxyrhynchus was rediscovered and its thirty foot deep accumulated rubbish heaps excavated.¹

The initial excavation commenced by exploring the Graeco-Roman cemetery on the outskirts of the modern village, but this yielded virtually

¹ For a full discussion of the historical background to the discovery see P. Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish: Greek Lives in Roman Egypt* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2007) esp. 12–13.

nothing. Then, fortuitously, on the 11th of January 1897 Grenfell and Hunt turned their attention to a low mound of rubbish which contained mixed debris. Among the contents was soon unearthed the now famous *P.Oxy. I 1*, at the time entitled *Logia* or “Sayings of Jesus”, which subsequent to the discoveries at Nag Hammadi was identified as the *Gospel of Thomas*. In addition to this new text, a leaf of a Greek manuscript of the Gospel of Matthew was also unearthed (*P.Oxy. I 2*). At the end of this first season 280 boxes had been filled with papyrus fragments. The vast amount of material unearthed meant that it was several years before the two scholars returned to the site, but they did so for the four consecutive winter season digs of 1903–04, 1904–05, 1905–06 and 1906–07.

The exact date of the discovery of *P.Oxy. X 1224* is uncertain. In their preface to the volume *Oxyrhynchus Papyri X* containing *P.Oxy. 1224* to *P.Oxy. 1350*, Grenfell and Hunt make the following note:

Of the new literary pieces here published, 1231 and 1233–5 proceed from the second of the large literary finds of 1906, with some small additions from the work of the next season. The remainder, with the extant and non-literary papyri, were for the most part found in 1903–4.²

If it is correctly assumed that *P.Oxy. X 1224* falls into the generalized description of the dating of the remainder of the papyri, then these two fragments would appear to have been unearthed during the winter season dig of 1903–04. Beyond this somewhat conjectural, but nonetheless plausible dating there are no further records of its exact date or location of discovery. In some ways such details may be thought to be of little significance, but the relative position and orientation of the two fragments that are now deemed to constitute *P.Oxy. X 1224* may have provided further corroborating evidence as to why these two fragments were connected by the original excavators as belonging to the same text.

3. *Description of P.Oxy. X 1224*

Although the physical location of the discovery cannot be described in any great detail, the actual fragmentary remains can be accurately represented. The two papyrus fragments are each written on both sides of the leaves they partially preserve. This means that it is highly probable that they come from a codex rather than a roll. While it is true that some scrolls survive which contain writing on both sides, this usually occurs in the case of opistho-

² B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri X*, Nos. 1224–1350 (Oxford: Horace Hart, Printer to the University, 1914) preface.

graphs—re-used scrolls with the later text usually written on the *verso* (↓).³ Since the two sides of both fragments appear to be written by the same hand, there is a strong likelihood that the same text occurs on both sides. Consequently, the possibility that the manuscript is an opisthograph is greatly reduced. Thus, it may be concluded that these two fragments appear to come from a codex rather than a roll.

3.1 *Codicology*

The smaller of the two fragments, by convention known as fragment 1 (fr. 1), at its greatest extent measures 4.6 cm wide by 4.1 cm high. This is a small fragment from the top of a papyrus leaf, which on the ↓ preserves the remains of at most the endings of two lines of text and on the *recto* (→) preserves an alphabetized three-character numeral and the remains of the commencements of three lines of text. The larger papyrus scrap, fragment 2 (fr. 2), at its greatest extent measures 13.1 cm wide by 6.3 cm high. This leaf preserves four columns of text, two of which are numbered (at least partially) and two of which are unnumbered. This arrangement of text raises two possibilities concerning the nature of fr. 2. Either it is (1) a single leaf with two columns of text on each side, or (2) it represents the two leaves of a *bifolium* with a single column of text on each page. If the latter is the case, then this *bifolium* has become detached from the middle of a quire of folded papyrus leaves (or far less likely, it is a *bifolium* from a codex constructed from quires of a single folded sheet). This is the case due to the numbering of the columns found on the fragment. In order to assess which of these two alternatives is the more probable scenario, it is first necessary to consider the Greek numbering system in general, and specifically how this was applied to the numbering of pages in a codex.

During the first millennium BCE there were competing systems to represent numerals. However, by the start of the first millennium CE the one that had gained ascendancy was the system of alphabetized numerals. This comprised the use of the twenty-four letters of the classical Greek alphabet together with three further letters that had become obsolete in the lexical orthography of the *koiné* language, but nevertheless retained their currency as part of the numerical system.⁴ The letters represented various numbers as follows:

³ An example of this phenomenon is to be found with *P.Oxy. IV 654* which contains the prologue and logia 1–7 of the *Gospel of Thomas*. The *recto* (→) represents the first use of the papyrus which was a documentary text of a land registry survey. For more details see. L.W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2006) see appendix 1, item 230, 228.

⁴ The three additional letters are digamma Ϝ, koppa Ϟ, and san Ϛ.

Alphabetical 1–9

α	β	γ	δ	ε	ς	ζ	η	θ
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Alphabetical 10–90

ι	κ	λ	μ	ν	ξ	ο	π	ϙ
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Alphabetical 100–900

ρ	σ	τ	υ	φ	χ	ψ	ω	ϝ
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

In relation to fr. 1 the number ρλθ (=139) is preserved on the → and no numeration is present on the ↓ of this fragment. With the four columns of text preserved in fr. 2, there are two numbers visible—one survives in complete form, the other preserves two of the three letters that comprise a three-digit numeral, but the missing letter is certain. The number in complete form is ποδ (=174) and is located above the middle of the first column on the ↓ of fr. 2. The fragmentary numeral over the centre of column one of the → preserves the letters ος (=76), here the initial letter is obviously missing and it can be nothing other than the letter ρ, thus making the full numeral ρος (=176). The reading of the pagination numeral in fr. 2, col. 1 → has been disputed by Dunkerley. He makes the assumption that Grenfell and Hunt “have misread the numeral at the head of Fragment 4 [for Dunkerley “Fragment 4” = fr. 2, col. 1 →], and that it is really [ρ]οβ instead of their [ρ]ος.”⁵ A number of factors tell against this argument. First, examination of the pagination letters reveals that Grenfell and Hunt did *not* misread the numeral. Secondly, it appears that Dunkerley has confused the letter digamma with a final form sigma. Finally, the proposal is driven by a desire to arrange the four columns so they follow events in the life of James. The basis for using this as the ordering principle for the sequence of the columns of fr. 2 is to say the least speculative, since James is nowhere mentioned in the extant portion of the papyrus.

Comparison with numeration in various codices allows for a series of generalized conclusions to be drawn from the numbering of the larger frag-

⁵ See R. Dunkerley, “The Oxyrhynchus Gospel Fragments,” *HTR* 23 (1930) 36.

ment. Although there is variation in the practice of placing numerical pagination, Turner notes that “[t]he favourite place for it is undoubtedly the center of the upper margin.”⁶ Furthermore, the usual practice is to number pages, occasionally leaves are numbered in a codex, but the practice of numbering individual columns in a codex that has pages with multiple columns is unevidenced.⁷ Although the more common practice is to number all pages consecutively, Turner notes that “[s]ome scribes did not number the odd pages, but only the even numbered pages.”⁸ This would account for the apparent numbering of only the even pages in fr. 2 of *P.Oxy. X 1224*. The approximately 15 mm gap between columns on the → and 20 mm gap on the ↓ is larger than that which usually occurs between columns upon multiple-column pages.⁹ The hole that occurs between line three of the two columns appears to be consistent with the type of hole caused by stitching the folded quires of papyrus into a completed codex. Taking the cumulative weight of this evidence, it would appear that the four columns represent the tops of four consecutive pages of a detached *bifolium* from a codex. This *bifolium* would have then been the middle sheet of a gathered quire, or a *bifolium* from a codex formed out of a collection of single *bifolia*. Given the probable fourth century date of the text and the number of pages it housed, it is more likely that this codex was constructed from multiply gathered quires of papyrus. This being the case the four columns of fr. 2 should be read in the following order (with page numbers supplied):

Col. 2 →	Page 173
Col. 1 ↓	Page 174
Col. 2 ↓	Page 175
Col. 1 →	Page 176

Although the large fragment appears to number only the even pages, the smaller fragment does contain an odd-numbered pagination. Given the thirty-four page separation, fr. 1 may be part of a different text that was numbered differently from the practice adopted in fr. 2, perhaps prior to the separate gathering being joined to form the codex. Alternatively, if both fragments are portions of the same text then it could be the case that due

⁶ He cites the following as examples of this practice: *P.Oxy. IV 697* (280), Xenophon, ii; *P.Oxy. III 548* (134), Homer, iii; Pierpont Morgan *Iliad* (140), iv; *PSI VIII 977* (127), *Iliad*, iv–v; *P.Rein. II 69* (142), Homer v; and, *PSI I 10* (132), *Iliad*, v–vi. See E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (University of Pennsylvania, 1977) 76.

⁷ Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, 76.

⁸ Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, 76. Examples given are *P.Oxy. 1011* (34), Callimachus, iv/v; *BM Add Ms 34473*(1) (47), Demosthenes, ii; *P.Oxy. 1780*, St. John (P 39); and, *Leyden Anastasy 9* (C 29), Coptic letters of Agabar, etc.

⁹ This point came up in discussion with Prof. Larry Hurtado.

to the fragmentary nature of the large fragment the numeration on odd numbered pages occurred further to the right of the page than is preserved in the extant portion of text.

The size of the pages of the codex is more difficult to determine since the form of the text is unknown. To determine the dimensions of the codex it is necessary both to consider the reconstruction of the partial lines that are extant, and to make some evaluation of possible page lengths based on Turner's classification of page sizes. As will be discussed more fully below, some portions of fr. 2 have parallels with canonical traditions. Perhaps the most certain reconstruction occurs at lines 2 and 3 on fr. 2 → col 1. Line 2 preserves thirteen certain letters with the remnants of a ρ visible at the commencement of the line. These thirteen letters occupy 58 mm. The reconstructed line requires 6 further letters and the completion of the partial ρ.

[των εχθ]ρων υμων ο γαρ μη ω

By measuring the width of examples of each of these letters from the same column of text, it can be estimated that the seven reconstructed letters would have occupied approximately 26 mm. The space between columns on the → of fr. 2 is 15 mm. Halving this allows for an estimate of the inner margin at 8 mm. Allowing for the same spacing for the outer margin (which is also 8 mm for fr. 1, if the white-space represents an outer margin), allows for the following estimate of page width. Outer margin 8 mm, seven reconstructed letters 26 mm, thirteen extant letters 58 mm, inner margin 8 mm, hence estimate of page width is 100 mm or 10 cm. This is a fairly secure estimate, but allowing for the possibility of a larger outer margin then perhaps a range of 10–10.5 cm is a more cautious estimate.

Estimating page length is far more problematic. Since the form of the text is unknown this can only be based on sizes of known codices which have a page width of approximately 10–10.5 cm. Drawing upon the data assembled in Turner's table of "Papyrus Codices Grouped by Dimensions",¹⁰ codices of width 10–10.5 cm fall in the range of smaller sizes, but are not sufficiently small to be classified as "miniature". According to Turner's classification system arranged according to breadth of page, a page width of 10–10.5 cm falls either into Group 8 sub-category "less than 12 cm broad", or Group 10 "less than 11cm B[road], and 'square'." Given that only two examples occur in group 10, it is more likely that *P.Oxy. X 1224* is similar in dimensions to codices found in the group 8 sub-category. Looking closely at this group

¹⁰ Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, 14–22; a similar table is constructed for parchment codices, see 26–30.

the page height ranges between 20 and 25 cm.¹¹ *P.Oxy.* X 1224 (both fragments) preserves generous upper margins in the range 2–2.5 cm. Assuming a similar dimension for the lower margin then the range of space available for writing would be 15–21 cm. The seven lines of text preserved on fr. 2 → col 1 occupy approximately a height of 3.8–4.0 cm. This would mean that if the estimate of page size is correct then there would probably have been between 26 and 38 lines of text per page.

It is not possible to determine the number of pages in the codex that contained *P.Oxy.* X 1224. Since, however, a page number of ρος (=176) occurs at the top of one of the columns of fr. 2 it appears that this was a substantial volume, and consequently was probably a codex which held a number of different writings. Beyond this, little more can be said with certainty about the number of pages.

In conclusion the following statements may be made about the physical form of the volume. *P.Oxy.* X 1224 is almost certainly a fragment of a codex, and the larger fragment preserves the uppermost lines of four columns of text from a *bifolium* detached from the centre of a quire. The width of the page has a high degree of probability of being in the range of approximately 10–10.5 cm. The page length is less certain, but may have been approximately 20–25 cm in height and contained between 26 and 38 lines of text. The number of pages in the codex cannot be determined, but it appears to have held at least 176 papyrus pages.

3.2 *Palaeography*

The writing style can also be described in some detail. The fragments are written in a generally consistent uncial style exhibiting a tendency towards bilinearity, but with some deviation from strict adherence in the case of the descenders on certain letters, most notably the formation of the upsilon. Such a writing style may reveal a generalized development of professional handwriting styles as it evolved from the various literary or book-hands of the first three centuries of the common era into the regularized form of uncial writing found in the large parchment codices of the fourth century and later.¹² Undoubtedly, it was the recognition of these features that led Grenfell and Hunt to propose a fourth century date. They observe that,

Hands of this type are commonly assigned to the fourth century, and to that period the present example may also be attributed, though it is likely to have

¹¹ See Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, 20–21.

¹² See the discussion of this generalized tendency in E.M. Thompson, *A Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1893) 116–117.

been written early in the century rather than late, and a third century date is not out of the question.¹³

There is no reason to deviate from this original assessment. A more nuanced view is presented by Cavallo who is able to contextualize the script on the basis of a much larger collection of manuscript evidence. He supports the fourth century dating but presents more detailed arguments.

Un'altra scrittura al di fuori del canone è quella di un frammento di un *Vangelo* apocrifo, P. Oxy. 1224 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Gr. th. e. 8(P); facs. P. Oxy. X, pl. I; Gerstinger, *Wiener Genesis*, T. Iv 18), riprodotto da H. Gerstinger a documentazione dello sviluppo della maiuscola biblica nel corso del IV secolo: basti osservare l'ε e il ζ con la schiena ondulata, i tratti mediana fusi del M, il piccolo O, l'ω in un tempo solo e con una lieve ondulazione al posto della linea mediana, per convincersi che si tratta solo di una generica scrittura alquanto calligrafica.¹⁴

There is one further feature which should be noted. The page numbers are written in another, more cursive hand. It is difficult to assess the time that may have elapsed between the writing of the main text and the addition of the page numbers. It is possible that the two hands are contemporary, simply reflecting differing scribal habits rather than being due to a significant temporal gap.

The standard letter height is approximately 3 mm with a slight tendency to enlargement at various points, increasing in general to about 4 mm in height. The omicron varies in size between 1.5 mm and 3.0 mm.¹⁵ In the formation of the letter γ the scribe often deviates from the general bilinear form of the text, the extended descending stroke results in a letter that measures up to 5.2 mm in height. However, there are also examples of this letter where the scribe writes a 3 mm high form without extended tail, thereby maintaining bilinearity. The letters α and λ are also written in forms which at times fail to preserve a bilinear text. The diagonal stroke of the α at times exceeds the notional limit of the imaginary upper bilinear line, while the shorter stroke of the λ at times extended beneath the notional limit of the imaginary lower bilinear line.

There are four occurrences of supralinear strokes in the text, all of which are found on fr. 2. Two represent the contraction of forms with the so-called movable v at the end of lines: ↓ col. 1 (174) line 4 καίνῶ; → col. 1

¹³ Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* X, 1.

¹⁴ G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, Studi e testi di papirologia editi dall'Istituto papirologico G. Vitelli di Firenze; 2 (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1967) 66, fn. 1.

¹⁵ The variation was noted by Grenfell and Hunt, although they did not provide measurements. They state, "o varies in size, being sometimes quite small, sometimes on the same scale as the other letters." Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* X, 1.

(176) line 2 $\bar{\omega}$.¹⁶ The other two examples evidence the early Christian practice of abbreviation known as *nomina sacra*. The same *nomen sacrum* $\bar{\text{IH}}$ occurs in two places in the manuscript. In the first instance, \rightarrow col. 2 (173) line 2, it is an abbreviation for the genitive form of the name Ἰη(σοῦ) . On the second occasion this form is employed, \downarrow col. 2 (175) line 5, it appears to be used to abbreviate the nominative form Ἰη(σοῦς) . It is interesting to observe that the scribe writes this *nomen sacrum* employing a suspended rather than contracted form. This has the limitation of not representing case-endings.

A number of further diacritical signs occur in the text. Most common is the use of the diæresis which occurs a total of eight times, seven above an initial υ and once above an initial ι . There are two common ways in which the diæresis functions. (i) The “organic” use, to mark the separation of a sequence of two or more vowels, indicating that they are to be articulated with distinct pronunciation rather than as a diphthong. (ii) The “inorganic” use, not to separate vowels, but simply to mark an initial vowel.¹⁷ This symbol is found in the following locations:

fr. 1:	\rightarrow	(page 139) line 2:	$\ddot{\upsilon}$	inorganic
	\downarrow	(page 138/140) line 1:	$\ddot{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$	organic
fr. 2:	col. 2 \downarrow	(page 175) line 2:	$\ddot{\iota}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$	organic
	col. 2 \downarrow	(page 175) line 6:	$\ddot{\upsilon}$ (mutilated)	organic
	col. 1 \rightarrow	(page 176) line 1:	$\ddot{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho$	organic
	col. 1 \rightarrow	(page 176) line 2:	$\ddot{\upsilon}\mu\omega\nu$	inorganic
	col. 1 \rightarrow	(page 176) line 3:	$\ddot{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho$	inorganic
	col. 1 \rightarrow	(page 176) line 3:	$\ddot{\upsilon}\mu\omega\nu$	inorganic

An angular sign $>$ is also used once at the end of line 1 of fr. 2, col. 1 \rightarrow to fill a slightly short line.¹⁸

It is helpful to note the following features of the letter formation that occurs throughout the two fragments of the extant text.¹⁹

α There are 35 clear examples of the letter α in the surviving text. The shape is fairly consistent throughout, although the size differs between

¹⁶ For further discussion of the movable see F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (trans. and ed. R.W. Funk; Cambridge: CUP, 1961) §20, 12.

¹⁷ See E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (2nd ed., rev. and enl., ed. P. Parsons; London: Institute for Classical Studies, 1987) 10.

¹⁸ See Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 5.

¹⁹ The shape of letter presented in the left-hand column as the exemplar tries to use a form closest to that written by the scribe.

examples that are 3 mm high which maintain the bilinear style of the text and a significant number of examples where the long diagonal stroke extends above the notional upper bilinear boundary. The letter appears to be formed from two pen-strokes. The long diagonal stroke is either written so as not to exceed the height of the other letters or at times the scribe writes this in a more extravagant manner, extending the length and sometimes curving either the top or bottom of the stroke. The attached curved loop of the letter is characteristically in the form of a sharp triangle, which limits the amount of white-space present in the loop.

- β The one example of this letter is to be found in fr. 2, col. 2, line 1. The letter is written in a fairly standard uncial fashion and maintains the bilinearity of the text. Its dimensions at greatest extent are 3 mm high and 2.5 mm wide.
- Γ There are four examples of the uncial form of Γ. The letter consists of two pen-strokes. The vertical stroke is consistently shorter than the notional bilinear height of 3 mm. These strokes measure between 2.3–2.5 mm. The horizontal stroke which is neatly drawn at a right-angle at the top of the vertical stroke tends to be longer than the vertical stroke and measures around 3 mm.
- Δ The letter Δ, which occurs three times in the body of the text, is written in uncial fashion throughout. The formation is not dissimilar to that of the α, apart from the lower stroke being strictly horizontal, terminating at the apex of the right-hand diagonal and the enclosed white-space is greater in extent. There is also one example of this letter in the pagination above the middle of the first column on the ↓ of fr. 2. This is smaller in size, shows a rounding to the left-hand lower apex and may have well been written by a different scribal hand.
- ε This letter is written in traditional uncial fashion with an arc forming the left-hand side of the letter and a horizontal crossbar added to the middle. The left-hand side often tends to become flattened with much of the stroke becoming a vertical downward line. The crossbar is of varying length ranging from 1.5–3.0 mm. There are 23 examples of this letter and the form with the flattened left-hand arc predominates.
- Z There are no examples of this letter in the extant portion of either fragment.
- H There are nine complete examples of this letter and one badly mutilated example. The letter is formed consistently from three pen-strokes. The letter is approximately square in shape with dimensions of height 2.5–3.0 mm, and width 2.5–3.0 mm.
- θ There are five examples of the letter θ, one occurs in the pagination numeral on the → of fr. 1, and there is one example of the letter in

each of the four columns of fr. 2. The two examples, col. 2 → (page 173) and col. 1 ↓ (page 174), are both partially mutilated. The two remained examples contained in fr. 2 both have a height and width of 3 mm, the shape is circular and the transverse horizontal bar forms a diameter through the middle of the letter. Both these examples are followed by the letter ε. With the example on line 2 of col. 2 ↓ (page 175) the crossbar of the θ extends as a single stroke also to form the crossbar of the following ε. This is not the case with the example on line 1 of col. 1 → (page 176). The θ that occurs in the numeral of fr. 1 → is elliptical with the curved shape having dimensions of 3 mm high, but only 1.5 mm wide. However, although there is no following letter the extravagant crossbar extends beyond the bounds of the ellipse and measures 6 mm in total length. This letter appears to be written by a different scribe from the one responsible for the body of the text.

- l There are 29 complete examples of this letter and about five partially preserved examples. The standard form is a single vertical pen-stroke of approximately 3 mm in length. The most obvious example of an oversized version of this letter occurs at the end of line 1 of fr. 1 →. This letter is 4 mm in height. On occasions one can also notice a slight curve in the letter and an ink spot at the top of the vertical stroke, presumably where the scribe first put pen to papyrus.
- κ Formation of the eleven examples of the letter κ occurs with great consistency. All examples are bilinear. The letter is formed of three pen-strokes the vertical stroke of 3 mm height, and the upward and downward diagonals each 2 mm in length and both originating from the midpoint of the vertical stroke. The scribe may have written these two diagonals without lifting his pen from the page.
- λ The three examples in the body of the text are basically similar in shape and formation, although some deviation exists due to a certain lack of consistency in scribal practice. The example that occurs in the pagination number at the head of fr. 1 → shows even greater deviation from forms in the main text. The three main examples consist of two strokes, the diagonal descending left to right and measures 3.5–4.0 mm, and a right to left ascending diagonal about 1.7 mm in length joined to the middle of the long diagonal. The partially mutilated example that is part of the number at the top of fr. 1 → comprises of two diagonals which are much closer in length, and they intersect much higher along the left to right stroke, almost forming an apex.
- μ With this letter there is a fascinating variation that reveals an inconsistency on the part of the scribe. There are eleven examples of this letter, with at least one on each of the six preserved columns of text. Nine of these are of the form μ, with a tendency to produce a letter which

at times is disproportionately wide in comparison to other letters, i.e. 4.5–5.0 mm wide. However, in fr. 2 → col. 1 (page 176), there are two examples of this letter written in the form M. This form, commonly used in epigraphical inscriptions as well as employed by various scribes, is used in *P.Oxy.* X 1224 on both occasions in the word γΗΩΗ. In both instances of this letter the dimensions are approximately 2.5 mm high by 4.5 mm wide. Grenfell and Hunt note that “μ also is inconsistent, the internal part being either angular or curved.”²⁰ The cause of this variation is uncertain. It may be noted that when the letter occurs in the same word written in a different case, ὑμεῖς (fr. 1 ↓), then the form μ is utilised.

- N The letter N occurs in complete form 26 times, there are five partial examples, and it is written with great consistency. It is both bilinear and generally written in a square form, width and height both 3 mm. Occasionally, the width is compressed, especially close to line endings. It is written with three pen-strokes and apparently without pen-lift. The letter commences at the bottom of the left-hand vertical stroke, there may be a slight loop as the scribe commences the downward diagonal stroke (but no white-space is apparent), finally the scribe concludes the letter with the second upward vertical stroke.
- ξ There are no examples of this letter in the extant portion of text on either of the two fragments.
- ο No examples of this letter occur on the small fragment. There are 16 complete examples found on fr. 2, a further two mutilated examples, and two contained in the pagination references. The letter is consistently circular in shape, with the height ranging between 3.0 mm for strictly bilinear examples, and 1.5 mm for smaller forms. Grenfell and Hunt note the inconsistency in size, “ο varies in size, being sometimes quite small, sometimes on the same scale as the other letters.”²¹ The two examples used for pagination are not noticeable distinctive from forms in the text.
- Π This is a consistently formed letter. There are six complete examples and three mutilated occurrences. The height is approximately 2.5 mm in all examples. Occasionally, there is a slight tendency for the horizontal stroke to slope upwards in a left to right direction.
- ρ There are 10 complete examples of this letter in the body of the text, 2 mutilated forms, and 2 occurrences in pagination numbers. This letter is in general formed consistently with one noticeable variation. While

²⁰ Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* X, 1.

²¹ Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* X, 1.

some examples strictly adhere to bilinearity, with others the descender extends below the notional lower boundary line. Thus the range of letter heights is between 2.5 mm and 4.0 mm. The upper loop tends to be written in a small and careful fashion, which results in the width of the letter being usually less than 2 mm. With the two examples contained in pagination references both are written with extended descenders. In comparison to the letter γ, Grenfell and Hunt state that the descender of “ρ is shorter and sometimes does not descend at all below the line.”²²

- c There are 14 complete examples of the letter sigma, and two mutilated examples. The examples in the body text are generally consistent, between 3.0–4.0 mm in height and 2.0–2.5 mm in width. They are written as right facing concave arcs, without a tail, and a tendency to flatten the left-hand side, so it appears as a vertical stroke.
- τ Of the eleven complete and two mutilated examples of this letter, there is a tendency for the scribe to write it in a form that makes its height less than surrounding letters. The height ranges between 2.0–3.0 mm. Some examples also have an extended crossbar of up to 5 mm. This tends to give the letter a “top-heavy” appearance. The letter is formed by two pen-strokes the usually shorter vertical stroke and the horizontal stroke which often intersects with either preceding or following letters.
- γ The upsilon is the letter that consistently is written with the longest descenders, and therefore shows the most regular deviation from bilinearity. This is observed by Grenfell and Hunt: “υ generally has a long tail.”²³ There are six complete examples and three mutilated letters. These range in height between 3.5–5.2 mm. There is a tendency for the two upper arms to become somewhat flattened and to partially lose the v-shape.
- φ There are no examples of this letter in the extant portion of text on either of the two fragments.
- χ There are two examples of this letter, one complete and one mutilated. The complete example is 3.5 mm wide and 2.8 mm high, it is formed by two diagonally intersecting transverse strokes. Although certainty is not possible, the mutilated letter may be more square in shape with similar width and height dimensions.
- ψ There are no examples of this letter in the extant portion of the text on either of the two fragments.
- ω There are seven complete examples of this letter, and these tend to be consistently formed. The letter is written without pen-lift. The main source

²² Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* X, 1.

²³ Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* X, 1.

of variation is in the height of the middle upward stroke. In general the scribe tends not to emphasize this feature of the letter. The width of the letter is in the range 3.0–5.0 mm and the height is usually 2.0–2.5 mm.

- ς The one example of the letter digamma, which is obsolete for *koiné* orthography is in the pagination, where it still retained usage. It is found at the head of fr. 2, Col. 1 → (page 176). It is formed as a 7 mm upper horizontal stroke and a 3 mm left to right descending diagonal stroke.

Consideration of the *ductus* of the manuscript shows that the scribe is generally consistent in the sequence of pen-strokes that are employed for the formation of individual letters.²⁴ The script is upright without any discernible slant, which suggests that the pens have been carefully prepared. Therefore, the palaeographical features of this text suggest a scribe who is quite well practiced in his craft, but with aspirations to a higher professional level of consistency and strict letter formation. However, there are various places where this is not achieved. Overall the script is easy to read, it is written in a generally regularized literary uncial style. Thus, the letter formation as noted by Grenfell and Hunt does indeed suggest a date of writing around the beginning of the fourth century.²⁵

4. *Transcription and Reconstruction of the Text*

As has been noted, the surviving fragments preserve no complete lines of text and the form of the text is otherwise unknown. This makes the task of reconstruction extremely problematic, although it is assisted by parallels to canonical gospel traditions at a few points. Although it is possible to transcribe the writing on fr. 1, no complete sentences can be reconstructed. The fragments will be transcribed here in the page order proposed in the codicological analysis. The transcription is based upon direct examination of the original papyrus, examination of colour images supplied in digital format, and consultation of previous transcriptions. The transcriptions consulted are, in order of publication, those carried out by Grenfell and Hunt,²⁶

²⁴ Parker gives the following definition of the term *ductus*: “The way in which a particular scribe has written, referring not so much to the shape of letters as to the way the pen is handled and the letters are put together.” D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008) 351.

²⁵ See Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* X, 1.

²⁶ See Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* X, Nos. 1224–1350, for P.Oxy. 1224 see 1–10.

Wessely,²⁷ Lührmann,²⁸ Bernhard,²⁹ and Kraus.³⁰ Wessely's transcription agrees with that of Grenfell and Hunt in all details apart from the way he numbers the lines of the manuscript.

The location and cataloguing details for the manuscript are as follows:

Location: Bodleian Library, Oxford; accessed in the Duke Humfrey's Reading Room.

Library MS catalogue reference: MS.Gr. th. e. 8(P)

Contact librarians: Dr Chris Fletcher (Head of Western Manuscripts)

Dr Bruce Barker-Benfield (Curator, Medieval Manuscripts)

Dr Daniela Colomo (Curator of the Oxyrhynchus Collection)

fr. 1 →

transcription:

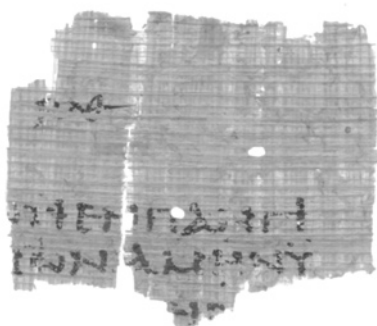
ρλθ

1]γτι εν παντι
]μων αμην υ
]εις[

translation:

139

1]? in everything
]of you/us amen you
]to[



Line 2: Bernhard does not read the initial μ, even as a partially preserved letter.³¹ The right-hand stroke, however, is present.

²⁷ See K. Wessely, "Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus II," in *Patrologia Orientalis* 18 (ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1924) 490–493 [266–269].

²⁸ See D. Lührmann, *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache* (Marburger Theologische Studien 59; Marburg: Elwert, 2000) 170–177.

²⁹ See A.E. Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels: A Critical Edition of the Surviving Greek Manuscripts* (LNTS [JSNTS] 315; London: T&T Clark, 2006) 100–101, 114–119, 186.

³⁰ I would like to express thanks to Thomas Kraus for making available a draft copy of his treatment on *P.Oxy. X 1224* which is now published in *Gospel Fragments* (ed. T.J. Kraus/M. Kruger/T. Nicklas; OECGT; Oxford: OUP, 2009) 264–280.

³¹ See Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels*, 114.

Line 3: Following Grenfell and Hunt, the subsequent editions of Wessely, Lührmann, Bernhard, and Kraus all present the plausible reconstruction of the beginning of the line as [μιν λέγω...] = “to you I say”

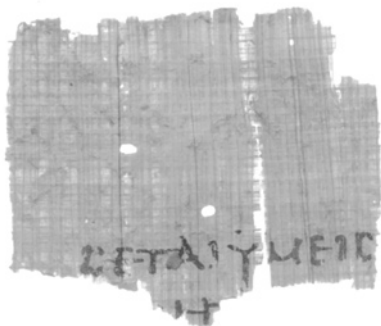
fr. 1 ↓

transcription:

1 σεταὶ ὑμεις[
]ητ[

translation:

1]? you[
]?[



All five transcriptions agree with what is printed above.

The transcription of the two sides of this fragment is identical to that made by Grenfell and Hunt,³² and also by Kraus. The former do not offer a translation of their transcription, but they do suggest that the floating υ at the end of fr. 1 → line 2 continues as ὑμῖν λέγω i.e., “truly to you I say...”. Adopting this suggestion, Kraus proposes the following translation for both sides of fr. 1: “[fr.1→]...in everything...Amen, I say to you [fr. 1↓]...you (...).”³³ Initially, the reconstruction suggested by Grenfell and Hunt would appear to have the advantage that the sequence ἀμὴν ὑμῖν λέγω is a stock phrase. However, closer examination of the evidence in the canonical gospels reveals a different pattern. The exact phrase ἀμὴν ὑμῖν λέγω never occurs in the canonical gospels. The construction of single or double “amen” followed by the verb before the second person pronoun, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, is however extremely common, occurring sixty-one times and there are a further five occasions where this occurs with a post-positive particle after the ἀμὴν.³⁴ Less frequent is the similar construction with a second person singular pronoun ἀμὴν λέγω σοι. This construction, again either with single or double “amen” occurs eight times. There is, however, one occasion where the second person singular pronoun precedes the verb: ἀμὴν σοι λέγω (Lk 23:43). This lack of support for the construction

³² See Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* X, Nos. 1224–1350, 5–6.

³³ Kraus, “P.Oxy. 1224,” 269.

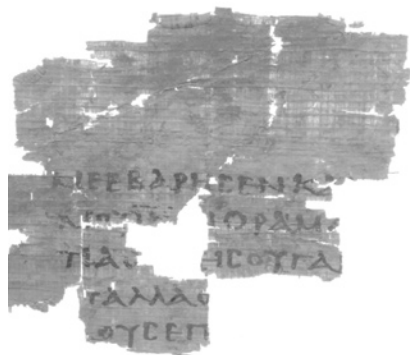
³⁴ There is a textual variant at Matt 18:19 which reads ἀμὴν before λέγω ὑμῖν. If this were included, the total number of examples of the phrase ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν would be sixty-one.

proposed in the reconstruction offered by Grenfell and Hunt slightly reduces its likelihood.³⁵

fr. 2, col. 2 → (page 173)

transcription:

1 με εβαρησεν κα[
 γου τη[.]υ οραμα[
 τι αθ[.]εις ου γαρ[
]τ' αλλα ο[
 5 [± 2]ους επ[



reconstruction:

1 με ἐβάρησεν κα[ὶ παρεσταμέ
 νου Ἰη(σοῦς) [ἐ]υ ὁράμα[τι λέγει
 τί ἀθ[υμ]εῖς; οὐ γὰρ[
 ἄ]τ' ἄλλα ὁ[ράματα
 5 δ]οὺς ἐπ[ὶ

translation:

it weighed me down. And while Jesus stood by in vision he said, "Why are you discouraged? For not...which the other visions...who gives to..."

Pagination: Previous reconstructions have detected traces of the letter ρ as part of the page number ρ[ογ] = 173.³⁶ Close examination of the papyrus has not revealed any ink mark in the upper margin.³⁷ Furthermore, if has been suggested above that fr. 2 may have followed the practice of only numbering even pages then this numeral would not be present.

Line 2: The initial letter of this line is read as ν in most editions, and as Kraus notes the letter combination "νου, [is] usually regarded as genitive ending of a participle." However, Bernhard reads the initial letter as μ.³⁸ This is unlikely to be the case given the angle of the diagonal stroke which

³⁵ All these statistics are derived from Bible Works version 7.

³⁶ See Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* X, 6; Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments* II, 490; and Kraus, "P.Oxy. 1224," 268.

³⁷ No pagination is read by Lührmann, *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien*, 173; Bernhard does not reproduce pagination letters where they do occur, so it is uncertain whether he reads anything in the top margin, Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels*, 114.

³⁸ See Kraus, "P.Oxy. 1224," 264; Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels*, 114.

does not exhibit the curved shape that is a feature of the μ, and since the right-hand vertical stroke does not have a tail.

Line 2: Lührmann notes the possibility of the reading [δ]ι' ὁράμα[τος instead of [ἐ]γ ὁράμα[τι. in place of [ἐ]γ ὁράμα[τι.³⁹ However, Kraus notes that “the alternative [δ]ι' ὁράμα[τος is problematic”, since this would require an ι after the lacuna which does not seem to align with the surviving remnants of the letter.⁴⁰

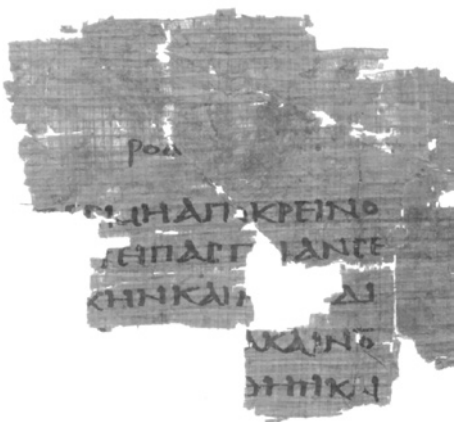
Line 4: There are three reasons why the initial letter is best read as τ rather than υ, as supported by Grenfell and Hunt, and other transcriptions. First, the height of the letter is less than 3 mm. This is common with the letter τ, but there are no other examples of γ which are less than 3 mm. Secondly, the horizontal stroke is flat not v-shaped, another feature of the letter τ. Thirdly, the vertical stroke is short measuring less than 2 mm, the opposite tendency is found with the letter γ which is formed with an extended descender, up to a length of 4.5 mm. Comparisons with the example of τ which is the first letter of line 3 and the γ, the second letter of line 5, show that the initial letter of line 4 is almost certainly τ.

Line 5: Here the initial letter of line 5 is presented as a reconstructed rather than a partially preserved letter. There is a slight darkening to the left of the ο, but it is impossible to tell whether this is discolouring of the papyrus or the slight remnant of a pen-stroke.

fr. 2, col. 1 ↓ (page 174)
transcription:

ροδ

1]πῆξ μη ἀποκρεινο
]πειπας π[]ιαν σε
]χην καιν[.] δι
]α καινῶ
5]θητι και



³⁹ Lührmann, *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien*, 173.
⁴⁰ Kraus, “P.Oxy. 1224,” 268.

reconstruction:

ροδ

1 εἰ]πεξ μὴ ἀποκρίνο
 [μενος. τί οὖν ἀ]πείπας; π[ο]ίαν σέ
 [φασιν διδα]χὴν καὶ γ[ὴν] δι
 δάσκειν, ἢ τί βάπτισμ]α καὶν
 5 κηρύσσειν; ἀποκρί]θητι καὶ

translation:

“...you said making no answer. What then have you disowned? What is the new teaching they say you teach, or the new baptism you preach? Answer and...”.

Line 1: The initial three letters are uncertain but the remnants become more complete as the text progresses to the right-hand side.

Line 1: There is a phonetic spelling εἰ instead of ἰ in ἀποκρίνομενος ms: ἀποκρεῖνομενος.⁴¹

Line 4: Grenfell and Hunt, followed by Wessely, Lührmann, and Kraus find traces of an α, the second letter of βάπτισμα, preserved.⁴² However, Bernhard finds no traces of this letter.⁴³ Close examination of the manuscript revealed a slight dark dot under the χ written on line 3. It was impossible to determine whether this is an ink mark. For this reason the transcription presents the α as a reconstructed, rather than a partially preserved letter.

fr. 2, col. 2 ↓ (page 175)

transcription:

1 οι δε γραμματεις κα[
 οι και ἱερεις θεασαμ[
 τον ηγανακτουγ[
 τωλοις ανα με[
 5] ιη ακουσας[
] ουσιν οι υ[



⁴¹ On the use of phonetic spellings in Greek papyri see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. I, *Phonology* (Milan: Istituto editoriale cisalpino-La goliardica, 1976) 190.

⁴² See Kraus, “P.Oxy. 1224,” 270.

⁴³ See Bernhard, *Other Early Christian Gospels*, 116.

reconstruction:

1 οἱ δὲ γραμματεῖς κα[ὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖ]
οἱ καὶ ἱερεῖς θεασάμ[ενοι αὐ]
τὸν ἡγανάκτουγ [ὅτι σὺν ἅμαρ]
τωλοῖς ἀνὰ μέ[σον αὐτῶν κατακεῖται.]
5 ὁ δὲ] Ἰη(σοῦς) ἀκούσας [εἶπεν· οὐ χρείαν]
[ἔχ]ουσιν οἱ ὑ[γιαίνοντες ἰατ]
[ροῦ]

translation:

But the scribes and the Pharisees and the priests seeing him were incensed because with sinners he reclined in their midst. But when Jesus heard, he said, “The healthy do not have need of a doctor, but...”.

Line 1: The initial three letters are uncertain but the remnants become more complete as the text progresses to the right-hand side.

Line 1: The last two letters of γραμματεῖς have only the slightest remnants visible, but the reconstruction is secure.

Lines 5–6: Lührmann suggests the following as an alternative reconstruction based on the common description in the canonical accounts of the Pharisees as hypocrites:⁴⁴

δε Ἰη(σοῦς) ἀκούσας [ὅτι ἄγανα-
[κτ]οῦσιν οἱ ὑ[ποκριταί]. εἶπεν

However, as Kraus observes this means that “l. 5 would perhaps then be too short.”⁴⁵

fr. 2, col. 1 → (page 176)
transcription:

ος
1]αἱ π[.]οσευχεςθε ὑπερ>
]ρων ὑμων ο γαρ μη ω
]γ ὑπερ ὑμων εστιν
]γ μακραν αυριον
5]ξηνησεται και εν
]του αντιδι[
]ινενωγ[



⁴⁴ Lührmann, *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien*, 175.

⁴⁵ Kraus, “P.Oxy. 1224,” 272, fn. 13.

reconstruction:

[ρ]ος

1 κ]αὶ π[ρ]οσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ>
 τῶν ἐχθ]ρῶν ὑμῶν ὁ γὰρ μὴ ᾧ(ν)
 καθ' ὑμῶ]ν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστιν
 ὁ σήμερο]ν μακρὰν αὖριον
 5 ἐγγὺς ὑμῶν γ]ενήσεται καὶ ἐν
 [± 10 letters] τοῦ ἀντιδί[κου
 [± 12 letters] ἰνεωγ[
 - - - - -

translation:

“And pray for your enemies. For the one who is not against you is for you. The one who is today far off, tomorrow will be near to you ... the adversary...”.

Line 1: Only the slightest traces of the three initial letters α?ι? π? are still present.

Line 1: The presence of an angular symbol at the end of line 1 is noted by Grenfell and Hunt,⁴⁶ Wessely,⁴⁷ and Kraus.⁴⁸ The use of line-fillers is evidenced elsewhere in Greek manuscripts.⁴⁹

5. Commentary

These two small fragments of text have attracted little comment concerning their meaning even within the majority of works that have made reference to *P.Oxy. X 1224*.⁵⁰ The reasons for this are at least threefold. First,

⁴⁶ Grenfell and Hunt note “an angular sign to fill up a short line is once used.” *Oxyrhynchus Papyri X*, 1.

⁴⁷ “A la fin de la deuxième ligne [Wessely counts the pagination as line 1] il existe un complément calligraphique; c’est un indice du caractère littéraire de notre exemplaire.” Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments II*, 493.

⁴⁸ See Kraus, “P.Oxy. 1224,” 274.

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the general phenomenon of the use of line-fillers see Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 5.

⁵⁰ Perhaps the most significant exceptions are the scattered exegetical comments in the *editio princeps* of Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri X*, Nos. 1224–1350, 1–10; comments in the notes that accompany J.D. Crossan’s presentation of an English translation of the fragments—see “Gospel Oxyrhynchus 1224,” in *The Complete Gospels* (ed. R.J. Miller; rev. ed.; Santa Rosa: Polebridge, 1994) 422–424; see also his brief interaction with *P.Oxy. X 1224* in J.D. Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991) mentioned in appendix 1, but not utilised in the body of the book; and Kraus who gives the most extensive commentary provided thus far, Kraus, “P.Oxy. 1224,” 276–279.

the fragmentary nature of the manuscript with no complete lines preserved means comments are often based upon proposed reconstructions. Secondly, the lack of clear parallels means that a wider context cannot be established which might otherwise assist in understanding the overall perspective of the text. Thirdly, the genre of the text, or texts (if fr. 1 and fr. 2 are not from the same text), is uncertain—hence it is unclear whether these are, for instance, a set of sayings from a post-resurrection dialogue, or relate conversations with disciples during Jesus' earthly ministry. Notwithstanding these difficulties, it is possible to probe these texts for meaning as long as the partial and tentative nature of the exegetical comments is borne in mind.

fr. 1 →: The reconstructed phrase, ἀμὴν ὑμῖν λέγω, utilising a single “amen” rather than the characteristic double amen of the fourth gospel suggests that this construction may show some awareness of synoptic type material. If this is indeed the case, then the putative saying which follows may also parallel a saying introduced by this type of construction in the synoptic tradition. Clues to possible candidates for such a saying may be derived from the preceding expression ἐν παντί, the second person genitive plural pronoun ὑμῶν, and the following letters εἰς, which if they form a complete word are either the preposition εἰς or the cardinal number εἶς. The expression ἐν παντί occurs only once in the synoptic gospels (Lk 21:36), but there is no co-ordination with an expression similar to ἀμὴν ὑμῖν λέγω. Hence the expression ἐν παντί does not help to narrow down identification of a possible saying. Within the synoptic gospels, the close co-ordination of the three words of the reconstructed expression from *P.Oxy. X 1224* occur usually in a phrase in a form something like ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν forty-eight times.⁵¹ Of these forty-eight occurrences a number are followed closely by a word with the letter combination εἰς. These include the following twelve examples:

ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν οὐ μὴ τελέσητε τὰς πόλεις τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (Matt 10:23)
 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰσὶν τινες τῶν ᾧδε ἐστῶτων (Matt 16:28//Mk 9:1)
 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν...οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν (Matt 18:3//Mk 10:15//Lk 18:17)
 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πλούσιος δυσκόλως εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν (Matt 19:23)
 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι (Matt 19:28)

⁵¹ Matt 5:18; 6:2, 5, 16; 8:10; 10:15, 23:42; 11:11; 13:17; 16:28; 17:20; 18:3, 13, 18; 19:23, 28; 21:21, 31; 23:36; 24:2, 34, 47; 25:12, 40, 45; 26:13, 21, 34; Mk 3:28; 8:12; 9:1, 41; 10:15, 29; 11:23; 12:43; 13:30; 14:9, 18, 25, 30; Lk 4:24; 12:37; 18:17, 29; 21:32; 23:43.

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν...βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν γενήσεται (Matt 21:21//Mk 11:23)

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οἱ τελῶναι καὶ αἱ πόρνοι προάγουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (Matt 21:31//Mk 14:18)

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν...ὃ ἐποίησεν αὕτη εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς (Matt 26:13)

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με (Matt 26:21)

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὃς ἀφῆκεν οἰκίαν (Mk 10:29//Lk 18:29)

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅπου ἐὰν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον (Mk 14:9, cf. Matt 26:13)

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν οὐδεὶς προφήτης δεκτός ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ (Lk 4:24)

It is impossible to determine which, if any, of these sayings followed the introductory formula ἀμὴν ὑμῖν λέγω. Yet, even if none represents the saying in P.Oxy. 1224, these examples provide a rich range of illustrations of the variety of material that could be attached to the solemn and authoritative dominical declaration ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν that occurs repeatedly in the synoptic gospels.⁵²

fr. 1 ↓: There is no reconstruction possible here since only one extremely common complete word is extant. The second person plural pronoun ὑμεῖς occurs in the nominative case. This may suggest that Jesus is, as is the case on the other side of this fragment, here also making declarations addressed to a group of disciples or hearers. Beyond this nothing further can be stated.

fr. 2, col. 2 → (page 173): This partial column of text provides the strongest evidence that Jesus is at this point speaking to a single disciple, after appearing to that person in a visionary state. Such visionary appearances are not confined exclusively to post-resurrection texts in early Christian writings, as is notably the case in the *Gospel of Judas* amongst others. The opening partial sentence...με ἐβάρησεν, uses a verb that is found only in four places in the NT (Lk 9:32; 21:34; 2 Cor 1:8; Tit 5:16), although the term

⁵² Most commentators note that the use of ἀμὴν in an introductory phrase is unusual, and contrasts with the standard Jewish practice of using it as a concluding affirmation. Davies and Allison note that such a locution presupposes “the superior status of the speaker over against those being addressed”, W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison, *The Gospel According to Matthew*, ICC, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988) 490. France also observes that the “formula is used in the gospels to emphasize pronouncements which are meant to be noted, particularly those which the hearers may be expected to find surprising or uncomfortable.” R.T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007) 184–185.

occurs as a variant reading in Codex Washingtonius in two parallel synoptic passages (Matt 26:43; Mk 14:40). The verb βαρέω is found in other non-canonical texts such as *Acts Paul* 7:26, and elsewhere in the Oxyrhynchus corpus (*P.Oxy.* III 525). Balz notes that “[a]ll instances of this vb. in the NT are fig. and pass.”⁵³ This example is not in the passive voice, but it may still be a figurative use, although the lack of a wider context prohibits any certain conclusions. The use of this verb in Lk 9:32, occurs in the Lukan version of the transfiguration account. The canonical versions of this tradition seem to be germinative for many of the visionary accounts in later Christian texts.⁵⁴ In a figurative sense the term is used to denote physical tiredness—the weighing down of eyelids, or the loss of mental perception. Again the specific nuance intended here cannot be determined. However, since Jesus is the one who counsels against this sense of being weighed down in the following clause, the translation here deviates from the use of the masculine third person pronoun “he weighed me down” and instead sees a more impersonal reference “it weighed me down.” Thus, Lührmann’s suggestion that ὕμνος, λύπη, or φόβος are possible subjects of the sentence is helpful.⁵⁵

The general sense of the following clause of the text can be readily understood, although some of the details of the reconstruction may be debated. The reconstruction proposed here, κα[ὶ] παρεσταμέ]νον Ἰη(σοῦς) [ἐ]ν ὁράμα[τι λέγει τί ἄθ[υμ]εῖς; describes a visionary appearance of Jesus and a question that enquires after the cause of the sense of being weighed down. The dialogue that is partially preserved occurs between Jesus and one other person, as is shown by the third person singular verbal form ἐβάρησεν, and the second person singular form ἄθυμεῖς which Jesus uses in his response. The identity of Jesus’ dialogue partner is not recoverable from the extant portion of the text. The verb ἄθυμέω is a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament, found only at Col 3:21, where it occurs as part of a household code in an injunction warning fathers not to exasperate children lest they become discouraged, ἵνα μὴ ἀθυμῶσιν. The same semantic sense is intended here, although the mood is indicative rather than subjunctive, thus referring to an actual state being experienced by the interlocutor. The language of visions (ὅραμα) is uncommon in the canonical gospels, occurring only in the Matthean version of the Transfiguration story where after the experi-

⁵³ H. Balz, “βαρέω,” in *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider; vol. 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990) 198.

⁵⁴ P. Foster, “Polymorphic Christology: Its Origins and Development in Early Christianity,” *JTS* 58 (2007) 66–99.

⁵⁵ Lührmann, *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien*, 173.

ence Jesus commands his disciples to tell nobody about this vision, μηδενὶ εἴπητε τὸ ὄραμα (Matt 17:9).⁵⁶ Use of the term ὄραμα is more prominent in Acts with eleven occurrences of the term.⁵⁷ Perhaps the closest parallel occurs in Acts 9:10 when the Lord is said to speak with Ananias in a vision, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ὁράματι ὁ κύριος. Although the phraseology is not as close, a similar experience is recorded in Acts 16:9 when the Macedonian man appears in a vision to Paul.

The broken sentence that forms the conclusion of the extant portion of text cannot be reconstructed with certainty. The opening οὐ γάρ construction would appear to be used to introduce an explanation of why a sense of discouragement is inappropriate. Although based on a conjectural reconstruction, the following broken phrase, ἄ]τ' ἄλλα ὁ[ράματα, may introduce the possibility of other visionary experiences. The reason introduced by the construction οὐ γάρ may be related to the term δούς. This may refer to an act of giving something (cf. Matt 26:26). Alternatively, if this aorist participle has been (substantivized) nominalized (cf. Lk 20:2), then feelings of discouragement may be seen as inappropriate since “the one who gives” is the basis of confidence and joy, rather than discouragement.

fr. 2, col. 1 ↓ (page 174): Again the surviving partial tradition is extremely broken and there is no extensive parallel to aid reconstruction. The opening phrase appears to preserve the end of a discussion about non-response to questions, εἶπεξ μὴ ἀποκρίνομενος. In the canonical tradition Jesus most famously maintains silence at various points during the trial. According to the synoptic gospels this occurs during the interrogation by Jewish authorities (Matt 26:63//Mk 14:61), or during the examination by Herod Antipas (Lk 23:9). By contrast, in the fourth gospel the motif of silence surfaces during the trial before Pilate (Jn 19:9). Given the traditions that follow in the next two columns of the text, it is unlikely that the narrative is relating a passion scene at this point. However, there does seem to be a forceful enquiry being directed presumably to Jesus and again presumably by those who dispute his claims. This suggestion may be reinforced by the reference to the γραμματεῖς who are mentioned in the opening line of fr. 2, col. 2 ↓ (page 175).

The next clause is largely reconstructed: τί οὖν ἀ]πεῖπας;. If this line completion approximates the actual text, then the narrative appears to continue

⁵⁶ Crossan, “Gospel Oxyrhynchus 1224,” 423.

⁵⁷ Acts 7:31; 9:10, 12; 10:3, 17, 19; 11:5; 12:9; 16:9, 10; 18:9.

by accusing Jesus of disavowing or disowning something. From the following clause it would be natural to assume that the reference to promoting a “new teaching” is in contrast with the accusation of disowning the established teachings. The form ἀπειπας (aor. ind. act. 2nd sing.) is otherwise unattested, but the related form ἀπεῖπον is found in 2 Cor 4:2 and Wisdom 11:42. However, the term is not used exclusively with the negative sense of “deny, refuse, forbid, renounce, disown”.⁵⁸ It is also used in classical Greek in a more neutral sense meaning to “speak out, declare”.⁵⁹ The possibility remains that in *P.Oxy.* X 1224 this more neutral meaning is present, but given the prevalence of the negative sense in *koiné* Greek coupled with the reference to the scribes in the following column of the text the narrative may be presenting a controversy-story with the negative sense being intentional.

The next clause appears to address a double-barrelled question to Jesus: π[ο]ίαν σέ [φασιν διδα]χὴν καιν[ήν] δι[δάσκειν, ἢ τί βάπτισμ]α καινὸν [κηρύσσειν;...] Treating these questions separately, the reconstruction and content of the first is fairly secure with the term φάσιν being most speculative part of the proposed reading. However, some verb denoting speech must be used here. The enquiry shows that it is based upon a third-person report, “they say you teach”. The description of what is being taught, διδασχὴν καινὴν “a new teaching”, does not clarify the content of that teaching. The term διδασχὴ καινὴ is used in Mk 1:27. In that context it is the corporate expression placed on the lips of the crowd which has just witnessed Jesus exorcising an unclean spirit. The striking thing in that context is that a miraculous action is referred to as a form of teaching.⁶⁰ Moreover, in the Markan narrative the tone of the crowd is that of awe and amazement. When the expression is employed in *P.Oxy.* X 1224 the tone is more derisive. The enquiry concerning the nature of Paul’s new teaching in the Areopagus speech is neutral (Acts 17:19). Interestingly, if the concern is over the “newness” of Jesus’ teaching in comparison to the antiquity of the received teaching, then this charge would align more naturally with second-century attacks on Christianity by pagan writers. Justin attempts to claim the Mosaic heritage for Christianity in order to legitimate the antiquity of its teachings (*Apol.* i. 44.8–19). This may be a response to the type of charge levelled by Celsus who accused the newer teachings of both Judaism and Christianity of perverting the ancient truths rightly interpreted by Plato and

⁵⁸ See LSJ, 183.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Iliad* 9.309; 23.361; *Odyssey* 16.340; Herodotus 1.152.

⁶⁰ As Collins notes, “The exclamation ‘What is this? A new teaching with authority,’ however, seems out of place. It takes up, however, the teaching of Jesus in the synagogue just prior to the exorcism and the reaction of those who heard it (vv. 21–22).” A.Y. Collins, *Mark* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007) 173.

his fellow Greek philosophers (Origen, *Contra Celsum* 4.11).⁶¹ However, in *P.Oxy.* X 1224 the concern appears to be raised by Jewish opponents who are presumably concerned that the teaching of Jesus stands in tension with the received teachings of Moses.

The second part of the question is more heavily reconstructed: τί βάπτισμα καινὸν [κηρύσσειν;]. The inference that this is a question concerning baptism may be incorrect.⁶² The alternative proposal κήρυγμα καινή is suggested by Grenfell and Hunt,⁶³ and adopted by Crossan as the more likely reading mainly on contextual grounds.⁶⁴ While reference to a form of speech or utterance may be felt to be preferable in co-ordination with the verb κηρύσσειν, it should be recalled that the expression κηρύσσειν βάπτισμα occurs in the synoptic tradition (Mk 1:4; Lk 3:3) albeit with John, rather than Jesus, as the subject.

This column of text breaks-off with what appears to be a challenge to respond to these charges: ἀποκρίθητι καί. Presumably such a challenge is addressed to Jesus, but this remains an assumption since he is not named in the extant portion of this column of text.

fr. 2, col. 2 ↓ (page 175): Two factors assist in the interpretation of this column of text: various groups of characters are explicitly named and there are clear synoptic parallels on which to base the reconstruction of the text.

<i>P.Oxy.</i> X 1224 fr. 2, col. 2 ↓ (page 175)	Mark 2:15–17
1 οἱ δὲ γραμματεῖς [ῖς] καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖ-] οἱ καὶ ἱερεῖς θεασάμ[ενοι αὐ-] τὸν ἡγανάκτου [ὅτι σὺν ἁμαρ-] τωλοῖς ἀνὰ μέ[σον αὐτῶν κατακεῖται.]	καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων ἰδόντες ὅτι ἐσθίει μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ τελωνῶν (2:16) καὶ γίνεται κατακεῖσθαι αὐτόν (2:15)
5 ὁ δὲ] Ἰη(σοῦς) ἀκούσας [εἶπεν· οὐ χρεῖαν] [ἔχ]ουσιν οἱ ὑ[γιαίνοντες ἰατ-] [ροῦ]	καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς [ὅτι] οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ (2:17a)

The narrative framework in *P.Oxy.* X 1224 has been slightly rearranged to describe the various groups of opponents prior to outlining the cause of the conflict. By contrast, Mk 2:15–17 first mentions the situation with Jesus

⁶¹ Cf. Tatian, *Or.* 38, Clement, *Strom.* 1.101.5.

⁶² This point is made by Kraus who observes that “[i]t remains questionable whether the text is really about a ‘new baptism’.” Kraus, “*P.Oxy.* 1224,” 277.

⁶³ See Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* X, 8.

⁶⁴ See Crossan, “*Gospel Oxyrhynchus* 1224,” 423.

reclining at table with companions, prior to the opponents addressing a question to the disciples. The reaction of the opponents in *P.Oxy.* X 1224 is more severe than that described in Mark, since they are characterized as becoming indignant, ἡγανάκτουν, although Luke presents a similar perspective describing the opponents as “grumbling” ἐγόγγυζον (Lk 9:30).

The Markan description of the opponents as οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων “the scribes of the Pharisees” is unusual.⁶⁵ The Matthean parallel deletes the reference to “scribes” simplifying the opponents to “the Pharisees” (Matt 9:11), while Luke rewords this in such a way that the Markan meaning is preserved, οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν “the Pharisees and their scribes” (Lk 5:30). By contrast, *P.Oxy.* X 1224 both simplifies and expands the text. It removes the subgroup “scribes of the Pharisees” and presents a larger threefold set of opponents, “scribes, Pharisees, and priests”. The basis of indignation in *P.Oxy.* 1224 is the act of Jesus “reclining at table in the midst of sinners”. In the synoptic parallels (Matt 9:10–12//Mk 2:15–17//Lk 5:29–31) the term “recline at table”, κατακεῖσθαι (Mk 2:15)/ ἀνακειμένου (Matt 9:10) is part of the scene setting (as is the shared term συνανέτακνεντο which occurs later in the same verses, cf. κατακειμένοι Lk 5:29), and does not form part of the actual interrogation or accusation. In the synoptic accounts the accusation is that of “eating” in such company. In Matt 9:11 and Mk 2:16 the charge is levelled explicitly against Jesus ἐσθίει, “he eats”. By contrast, Luke makes two changes: the accusation incorporates the disciples also and is broadened to reference drinking as well as eating, ἐσθίετε καὶ πίνετε (Lk 9:30). These features reveal that the synoptic versions of the introduction to this pericope are more closely aligned to each other, than any of them is to *P.Oxy.* X 1224.

The response given by Jesus in *P.Oxy.* X 1224 is largely reconstructed on the basis of the parallel version in the Lukan account, because of the presence of the term ὑγιαίνοντες which *P.Oxy.* X 1224 shares with Luke, as opposed to the Markan and Matthean ἰσχύοντες. The decision to use the form εἶπεν (following Matthew and Luke) rather than the Markan λέγει is to a large extent arbitrary, but also reflects the wider circulation of Matthew’s gospel and the observation that the following saying appears to draw upon the Lukan form of the tradition. The meaning of this proverbial maxim remains unaltered from the intended sense in the canonical narratives. Davies and Allison state that this is “a parable whose meaning is transparent: the sick are the toll collectors and sinners, the strong are

⁶⁵ Guelich notes that the phrase “Scribes of the Pharisees”, “represents an unusual combination appearing only here in Mark.” R.A. Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26* (WBC 34A; Dallas: Word, 1988) 102.

those who oppose Jesus, the physician is Jesus.”⁶⁶ Although a number of commentators note the Lukan alteration, few account for its motivation. Bock suggests that “Luke’s reference to the healthy fits well with the picture of Jesus as a physician, helping those in need.”⁶⁷ Presumably this motif of “Jesus as a physician” is based upon Jesus’ self-application of the label physician when quoting another popular saying in Lk 4:23. In *P.Oxy. X 1224* the Lukan wording is followed in order to show that Jesus’ motivation is to put the needs of the oppressed before the sensibilities of the powerful.

fr. 2, col. 1 → (page 176): Again, there are clear parallels with synoptic traditions and these aid the reconstruction of this column of text. This section can be broken into three separate traditions: an injunction to pray for one’s enemies (Matt 5:44; cf. Lk 6:27); a version of the “for and against” saying (Q version, Matt 12:30//Lk 11:23; and the Markan form of the tradition [Mk 12:40] replicated in Luke [Lk 9:50b] but not in Matthew); and an otherwise independent tradition concerning reconciliation with those who were previously estranged.

The first saying commences this catena of three extant traditions promoting a positive attitude towards opponents. Crossan makes the following observation about the various forms of this saying:

This aphorism appears as *love your enemies* in Q 6:27–28, 35. However, in versions of the saying which depend on the NT gospels (Did 1:3 and Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians 12:3), it was changed to *pray for your enemies*, as here. The present form might be taken as a softening of a too difficult injunction, but it is probably at least its equivalent, if not its more specific and practical intensification.⁶⁸

The conjunction may suggest that the “pray for your enemies” saying was not the first tradition relating to the attitude towards opponents cited in this sequence. However, given the ubiquitous usage of *καί* in *koiné* Greek such an inference does not necessarily follow.

The second saying occurs as a doublet in the synoptic tradition. The more distant parallel is the Q version, the likely form of which is:

ὁ μὴ ὦν μετ’ ἐμοῦ {κα}τ’ ἐμοῦ {ἐστίν}, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ’ ἐμοῦ σκοπίζει. (Q 11.23)⁶⁹

⁶⁶ W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison, *The Gospel According to Matthew*, ICC, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991) 103.

⁶⁷ D.L. Bock, *Luke 1:1–9:50*, BECNT, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2000) 496.

⁶⁸ Crossan, “Gospel Oxyrhynchus 1224,” 424.

⁶⁹ The form of this reconstruction of the Q version of the saying follows J.M. Robinson, P. Hoffmann and J.S. Kloppenborg (eds.), *The Critical Edition of Q* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000) 236.

The closer parallel is with the version of the tradition found in Mk 12:40 and modified in Lk 9:50b:

ὅς γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν καθ' ἑμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἑμῶν ἐστὶν. (Mark 9:40)

ὅς γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν καθ' ὑμῶν, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστὶν. (Luke 9:50)

The form found in *P.Oxy. X 1224*:

ὁ γὰρ μὴ ὧ(ν) [καθ' ὑμ]ῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστὶν. (lines 1–2)

most closely resembles the form in Lk 9:50b. As the saying stands in *P.Oxy. X 1224*, it reinforces the previous command to love enemies, by counselling that the definition of an opponent should not be too freely applied.

The last saying in this carefully constructed triad is unparalleled, but also is completed by conjectural reconstruction.

[ὁ σήμερο]ν μακρὰν αὔριον [ἐγγὺς ὑμῶν γ]ενήσεται καὶ ἐν... τοῦ ἀντιδί [κου]

If the reconstruction approximates the form of the tradition, there is carefully constructed contrast between “today/far off” and “tomorrow/near”. The contrast between the state of being “far from” or “near to” is also found in the *Gospel of Thomas*: “Jesus said, ‘Whoever is near me is near the fire, and whoever is far from me is far from the kingdom.’” (*G.Thom.* 82).⁷⁰ However, apart from this similarity in the form of the contrast employed, the actual substance of the two traditions is markedly different.

6. *The Date of the Text of P.Oxy. X 1224*

There is an obvious distinction between the date of a manuscript which is a witness to a text, and the date of composition of the text itself.⁷¹ It is also self-evident that if a certain manuscript is the autograph of a text, then the date of manuscript and text will coincide. Furthermore, matters can become more complicated when a text evolves through various recensions and decisions must be taken about which form of a text is being dated.

⁷⁰ In relation to the meaning of this Thomasine tradition DeConick notes both its mystical and apocalyptic dimensions. She states that this saying “reveals a theophantic tradition that identifies Jesus with the fire of the heavenly realm, the Kingdom. Believers who draw near to him can trust that they will experience a fiery theophany, while those who remain far away from him will not be able to enter the Kingdom at the end of time.” A.D. DeConick, *The Original Gospel of Thomas in Translation: with a Commentary and New English Translation of the Complete Gospel* (LNTS 287; London: T&T Clark, 2006) 247.

⁷¹ For further discussion on the distinction between text and manuscript, see Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts*, 2–4.

However, in the case of *P.Oxy. X 1224* there is no evidence for more than one recension of this text, and it is more likely than not that the manuscript fragments are not from the autograph of this text, so presumably there is a temporal gap between the composition of the text and the date of the sole surviving witness to that text. In the discussion of the palaeography of *P.Oxy. X 1224* the original judgment of Grenfell and Hunt in proposing a date for the manuscript in the early part of the fourth century was seen to be persuasive. This provides a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the text, however, fixing a lower limit for the date of composition is more hotly debated.

There is a range of opinion on the date of composition of the text witnessed by *P.Oxy. X 1224*.⁷² In various publications Crossan has proposed a date around 50 C.E.⁷³ Others have seen the text originating either earlier than the last decade of the first century,⁷⁴ or at sometime within the first half of the second century.⁷⁵ These cases need to be considered in turn. While in certain examples, such as documentary papyri recording tax receipts there is a recorded date, this is not the case with *P.Oxy. X 1224*. Consequently, dating must be based on other factors, such as the date of the events recorded, dependence upon other written sources, or theological concerns reflective of certain periods.

In his *The Historical Jesus*, Crossan classifies *P.Oxy. X 1224* as one of his first stratum sources which are dated between 30–60 C.E. In his more extensive treatment of these fragments, he states “[t]he date when the manuscript was copied tells little about the date of this gospel’s composition. It could be as early as the 50s when Christians first began to create books about what Jesus had said and done.”⁷⁶ Crossan’s decision concerning dating is based upon two observations. First that the “text does not seem to be dependent on the New Testament gospels since none of their redactional elements are discernible in its few verses.”⁷⁷ Secondly, Crossan sees the polemical orientation of the text as providing a clue to its dating. He states, “[b]ut the

⁷² The disparity in dating is encapsulated in the listed date range 50–140 C.E., given with a reliability estimate of (1/5) on the website: <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/oxyrhynchus1224.html> (10 August 2008).

⁷³ See Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, 428; also, “Gospel Oxyrhynchus 1224,” 422.

⁷⁴ A. Schmidt, “P.Oxy. X 1224, Fragment 2 recto, Col. I: Ein neuer Vorschlag,” *ZNW* 80 (1989) 267–7.

⁷⁵ See P. Foster, “The Use of Non-Canonical Gospels in J.D. Crossan’s Portrayal of the Historical Jesus,” in *Jesus as Eschatological Challenge: Engaging the Work of John Dominic Crossan* (ed. Robert L. Webb and Robert J. Miller; LHJS; London: T&T Clark—a Continuum Imprint, 2010) forthcoming.

⁷⁶ Crossan, “Gospel Oxyrhynchus 1224,” 422.

⁷⁷ Crossan, “Gospel Oxyrhynchus 1224,” 422.

vision in 3:2 and the debates in 4:1–2 and 5:1–2 indicate a position closer to Q than to Thomas. No opponents, for example, ever challenge Jesus in the few narrative situations in Thomas as they do here and in Q.”⁷⁸ Crossan’s first criterion is both a sensible and one that was first proposed by Helmut Köster in his study of gospel traditions in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers.⁷⁹ Because of the overlap between traditions, especially within the synoptic gospels, Köster advocated that there must be a clear example of an evangelist’s redactional hand before dependence on a specific gospel can be asserted. Thus, he states, “so hängt die Frage der Benutzung davon ab, ob sich in den angeführten Stücken Redaktionsarbeit eines Evangelisten findet.”⁸⁰ It would indeed be unsurprising if such short fragments of text as those preserved by *P.Oxy.* X 1224 showed no clear redactional features of any specific canonical gospel. This would not necessarily demonstrate that the text was an early independent witness to the Jesus tradition, rather the relationship would remain ambiguous. However, contrary to Crossan’s assessment that none of the redactional elements of the canonical gospels is present, there appear to be two clear examples where dependence on Luke’s gospel can be demonstrated.

In fr. 2, col. 2 ↓ there is a parallel to the synoptic tradition found at Matt 9:12//Mk 2:17//Lk 5:31, the saying about those who need a physician. Both Matthew and Mark agree that the people that do not need a doctor are “the strong” οἱ ἰσχύοντες. By contrast, Luke changes this to “the healthy” οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες. Although *P.Oxy.* X 1224 breaks off at the commencement of the word, the first letter is legible ὑ[γιαίνοντες], and the completion almost certainly agrees with the Lukan choice of vocabulary. Here the text shows clear knowledge of a significant Lukan redactional change.

The second example is even more compelling. In fr. 2, col. 1 → a version of the “for and against” saying is preserved. Apart from the form in *P.Oxy.* 1224, related forms also occur in Q (Matt 12:30//Lk 11:23) and Markan tradition (Mk 12:40) replicated in Luke (Lk 9:50b), but not in Matthew. On Crossan’s stratification of sources the Q version stems from an earlier phase of the tradition history than the Markan form. The Q version reads:

ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ’ ἐμοῦ {κα}τ’ ἐμοῦ {ἐστιν}, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ’ ἐμοῦ σκοπίζει. (Q 11.23)⁸¹

⁷⁸ Crossan, “Gospel Oxyrhynchus 1224,” 422.

⁷⁹ See H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957).

⁸⁰ Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, 3.

⁸¹ The form of this reconstruction of the Q version of the saying follows Robinson, Hoffmann and Kloppenborg, *The Critical Edition of Q*, 236.

P.Oxy. X 1224 varies from the Q form in three major ways, first, it preserves a parallel only to the first half of the saying, secondly, it employs plural rather than singular pronouns, and thirdly, the ordering opposes the Q order of “with” (μετ’) and “against” (κατ’), having instead the reverse order “against” (καθ’) and “for” (ὕπέρ). Thus, the form in *P.Oxy.* X 1224 reads:

ὁ γὰρ μὴ ὢ(ν)

[καθ’ ὑμ]ῶν ὕπέρ ὑμῶν ἐστίν. (*P.Oxy.* X 1224, frag 2, col. 1, *recto*, lines 1–2)

When the form preserved in *P.Oxy.* X 1224 is compared with the Markan form, a greater degree of similarity may be observed.

ὅς γὰρ οὐκ ἐστίν καθ’ ἡμῶν, ὕπέρ ἡμῶν ἐστίν. (Mark 9:40)

Here, *P.Oxy.* X 1224 and Mark 9:40 share the order and the same Greek terms “against” (καθ’) and “for” (ὕπέρ), thus agreeing with each other against Q 11.23. Furthermore, these two forms agree in using the post-positive conjunction γάρ and by employing plural rather than singular pronouns, although *P.Oxy.* X 1224 uses second person plural pronouns whereas Mark 9:40 uses first person plural pronouns. It may be argued that all this shows is that *P.Oxy.* X 1224 stands closer to the Markan form than that of Q. Moreover, even with this being the case it is possible that *P.Oxy.* X 1224 is drawing upon an earlier version of the tradition it shares with the Markan version. However, the parallel to the Markan version that exists in Luke’s gospel makes this highly improbable. The Lukan doublet of the “for and against” saying that is recorded in Lk 9:50 occurs in the same narrative context as Mark 9:40 and is drawing upon the Markan saying as its source.

ὅς γὰρ οὐκ ἐστίν καθ’ ὑμῶν, ὕπέρ ὑμῶν ἐστίν. (Luke 9:50)

The sole difference between the Lukan and the Markan forms is that the former uses second person plural pronouns whereas the latter uses first person plural pronouns.⁸² Thus, the Lukan form of the tradition is the closest parallel to the form found in *P.Oxy.* X 1224. Consequently, *P.Oxy.* X 1224 does exhibit the redactional features found in the Lukan version of the saying. Hence it can be concluded that *P.Oxy.* X 1224 post-dates the synoptic tradition at this point and draws upon the Lukan version of this saying

⁸² Whilst there is some interchange between first and second person pronouns in certain manuscripts of both Mark 9:40 and Luke 9:50, the readings presented here have the weight of textual support and the variation appears due to later scribes harmonizing the different forms of this tradition.

on the basis of the redactional elements drawn from the third gospel. Given the likely date of Luke's gospel being towards the end of the first century, this would suggest that the text of *P.Oxy. X 1224* was composed no earlier than the last decade of the first century.⁸³

Although a less precise indicator, the content and possible genre of the text may indicate an even later date. The appearance of Jesus in a vision, entering into dialogue, suggests affinities with texts such as the *Gospel of Judas* or stories that occur in a number of the Apocryphal Acts (cf. *Acts of John* 88–93). Such texts were in circulation during the second half of the second century. This is suggestive, although certainly not decisive, of *P.Oxy. X 1224* being composed in the same period, which is most likely the second quarter of the second century.

Assembling these various observations, it can be stated with a high degree of certainty that the text witnessed by *P.Oxy. X 1224* was composed after the Gospel of Luke (which was probably written around 80–90 C.E.) and no later than the single manuscript copy written around 300 C.E. More speculative is an attempt to gauge the date on the basis of generic affinities with other texts. However, these suggest the text may have been composed in the second century, perhaps in the period 125–150 C.E. This, however, is a less secure estimate than the broad range of 90–300 C.E.

7. *Social Setting of P.Oxy. 1224 in Early Christianity*

Attempts to locate the social context of early Christian texts are often fraught with speculation, even when an extensive portion or the complete text survives. Given the limitations of the fragmentary text only the most cautious observations can be suggested. A number of gospel-like texts have been classified as Jewish Christian in orientation.⁸⁴ Although the definition of the term “Jewish Christianity” is notoriously difficult, such texts and the communities in which they were read are seen as having some form of ongoing practice of aspects of Torah, a greater knowledge of halakhic practices and Jewish institutions, and often a tendency to read Matthew's

⁸³ The dependence of *P.Oxy. X 1224* upon Lk 9:50 is noted in passing by A. Schmidt, “*P.Oxy. X 1224, Fragment 2 recto, Col. 1: Ein neuer Vorschlag*,” *ZNW* 80 (1989) 276–277.

⁸⁴ Apart from the three (or perhaps two) so-called Jewish-Christian gospels (for further discussion see A. Gregory, “Jewish-Christian Gospels,” in *The Non-Canonical Gospels* [ed. P. Foster; London: Continuum, 2008] 54–67), another fragmentary text from Oxyrhynchus, *P.Oxy. V 840*, has also been suggested as originating in a Jewish-Christian environment, see M. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior: An Analysis of P.Oxy. 840 and Its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (TENT 1; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

gospel or one of the related Jewish Christian texts.⁸⁵ Even on the basis of this skeletal sketch of features of Jewish Christianity, *P.Oxy. X 1224* does appear to be part of this religious trajectory. It appears to lump together the three groups' scribes, Pharisees and priests (fr. 2, col. 2 ↓, lines 1–2) in an undifferentiated manner. Moreover, the dependence of the fr. 2 upon the Gospel of Luke shows familiarity with a form of the synoptic tradition for which the evidence of reception is most closely tied with gentile rather than Jewish audiences.

If the negative conclusion can be drawn that the text may not have been the product of Jewish Christianity, can a more positive conclusion be framed? The answer to that question is largely negative, although some tentative speculations may be suggested. The single surviving copy of the text was discovered in Egypt. However, the range of texts discovered at Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere in Egypt strongly attests to the mobility of both Christian and pagan writings. It may be tempting to link this text with a "Gnostic" group.⁸⁶ However, the only possible reason for doing so would be upon the basis of the appearance of Jesus in a vision with an ensuing dialogue. While such literary forms feature in "Gnostic" texts, they are hardly unique to them. Thus, in terms of social setting perhaps only a few minimal conclusions can be stated. The text does not appear to have originated in a Jewish Christian setting, at some time after its composition it was still in circulation in Egypt among a community with very eclectic reading habits. It may have been attractive to readers in some of the so-called "Gnostic" groups, but there is little basis for linking its composition with such communities.

⁸⁵ (See) O. Skarsauna and R. Heidar (eds.), *Jewish Believers in Jesus: the Early Centuries* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007), esp. 3–55; M. Jackson-McCabe (ed.), *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007).

⁸⁶ Here the term "Gnostic" is used to indicate a representative of a multiplicity of groups, which although related in their thinking at certain points (where) were definitely not as a way of referring to a single unified movement with a tightly defined and homogeneous set of beliefs and a common origin. See the important critiques of M.A. Williams, *Rethinking "Gnosticism": An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1996), and K.L. King, *What is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2003). However, the important correctives by A.H.B. Logan, *The Gnostics: Identifying an Early Christian Cult* (London: T&T Clark, 2006); B. Pearson, *Ancient Gnosticism: Traditions and Literature* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007).

8. *Conclusions*

The two fragments that constitute *P.Oxy. X 1224* open up a fascinating set of inter-related questions. Unfortunately the fragmentary nature of the manuscript (remains) means that often only tentative answers can be given to such questions. In terms of the actual manuscript, the scraps of text seem to have been part of a much larger codex comprising of at least 176 pages of small dimension, but not miniature size. The smaller fragment does not allow for any meaningful reconstruction of a continuous text. By contrast fr. 2 with its slightly more extensive text allows for some tentative reconstruction, especially where partial canonical parallels exist. In two places the text appears to be dependent on Luke's gospel, due to the presence of redactional features found only in that canonical source. This means the date of composition of the text must be after that of the third gospel (around 90 C.E.), but before the date of the manuscript, established on palaeographical grounds to be around the beginning of the fourth century. The social setting for the composition of this text cannot be established, but it does not appear to have originated in Jewish Christian circles. At a later stage the text circulated at Oxyrhynchus and reflects the highly varied reading tastes of that community. *P.Oxy. X 1224* offers a partial glimpse into the diverse literary landscape of early Christianity and witnesses to the way in which traditions about its founding figure were preserved and propagated in textual form.

9. Full Plates of the Papyrus Fragments

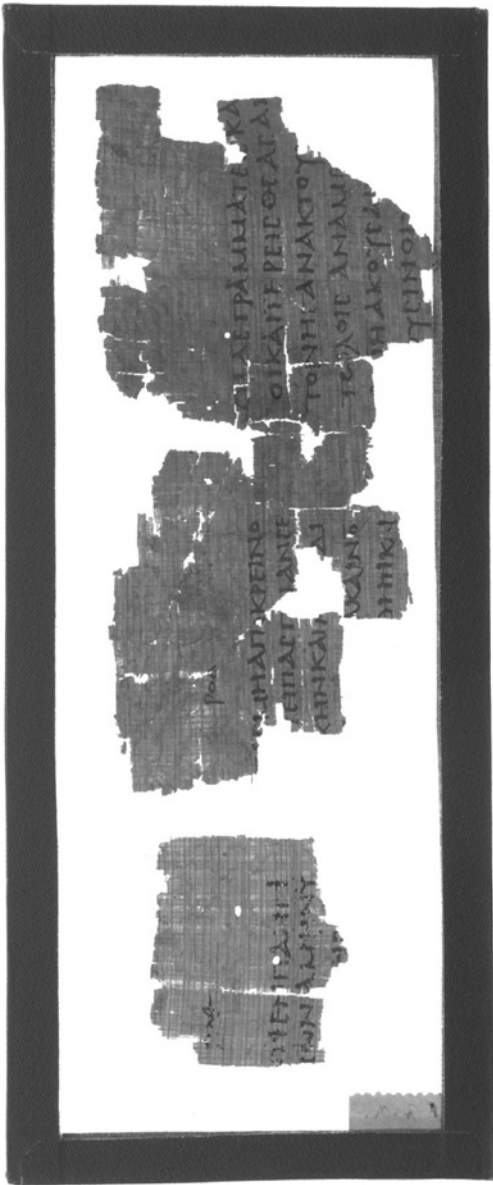


Image 1: P.Oxy. 1224—The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Gr. th. e. 8(P)
Small fragment: Fragment 1 recto (→)
Large fragment: Fragment 2 verso (↓)

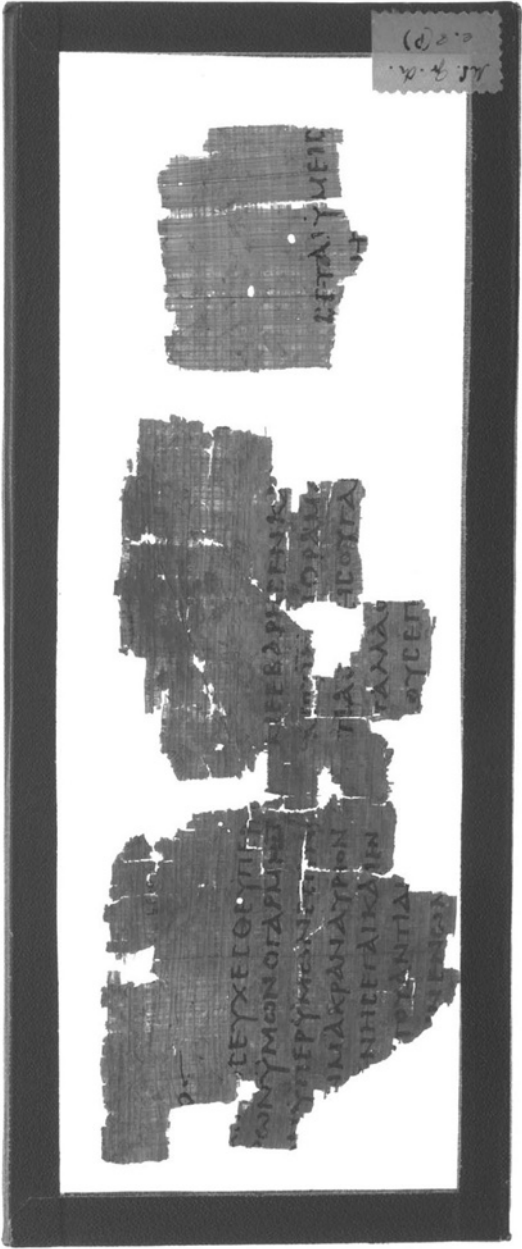


Image 2: P. Oxy. 1224—The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Gr. th. e. 8(P)
Small fragment: Fragment 1 verso (↓)
Large fragment: Fragment 2 recto (→)

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CHAPTER FOUR

IS P.OXY. XLII 3057 THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN LETTER?

Lincoln H. Blumell

Since the publication of *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057 in 1974, a personal letter dated paleographically to the late first or early second century, it has attracted a rather inordinate amount of attention. The interest this letter has garnered can be attributed to some passing remarks made by the editor of this text, Peter Parsons, who tentatively, and in some ways dismissively, raised the possibility that it could have been authored by a Christian since it contained certain peculiarities that ostensibly suggested Christian authorship.¹ Given the early date of the letter it is understandable why Parsons' editorial musings attracted such attention; if this letter could be shown to have been written by a Christian it would represent the earliest extant Christian text predating, or at the very least contemporaneous with \P^{52} (= *P.Ryl.* III 457), the famous fragment from St. John's Gospel (18:31–33, 37–38) that dates to the first half of the second century. Furthermore, it could potentially shed some much-needed light on the origins of Christianity in Egypt in a period where relatively little beyond speculation and conjecture is known.²

Despite the initial stir that followed this letter's publication largely as a result of Parsons' editorial musings, whereby its "Christian" characteristics were scrutinized and evaluated, within a decade or so much of the

¹ In the preface to the letter Parsons wrote, "The writer encourages his brethren to amity, alludes to external enemies, looks forward with ragged nerves to future ordeals: many hints, small information. If the hand is rightly dated, it would be temerarious to look for a Christian context (15 ff. n.)." *P.Oxy.* XII, p. 144. In n. 15 Parsons follows up by considering the different facets of the letter that could indicate Christian authorship, suggesting a general epistolary analogy to *1 Clem.*, though he ultimately expresses some doubt that the peculiarities contained in the letter are actually Christian. However, in a later note on *P.Oxy.* XII 3057 Parsons seemed somewhat more convinced that a Christian context for the letter was a real possibility. See P. Parsons, "The Earliest Christian Letter?," in *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII, ed. R. Pintaudi; Firenze: Edizioni Gonnelli, 1980) 289.

² C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 1; B.A. Pearson, "Earliest Christianity in Egypt: Some Observations," in *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (ed. B.A. Pearson and J.E. Goehring; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986) 132–134; H. Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Vol. 2): *History and Literature of Early Christianity* (2nd ed.; New York and Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000) 225–228.

interest the letter initially had generated tailed off.³ The scholarly consensus was that although the letter contained features that potentially pointed to Christian authorship, they were not compelling and were at best indefinite.⁴ However, in two recent treatments of the letter, by Orsolina Montevecchi and Ilaria Ramelli, they have attempted to reopen the debate as they have sought to demonstrate that it does in fact contain a number of characteristics that are best explained only within a Christian context.⁵ While the arguments adduced by Montevecchi and Ramelli are largely original, as they attempt to bring something new to the debate and are at times rather thought provoking, a critical analysis of their arguments reveals that they are ultimately unpersuasive as they do little to cogently establish that the letter was either written by a Christian or should necessarily be read within a Christian context. Not only are the alleged “Christian” features of the letter more easily explained within a context that does not require a Christian interpretation, but also both authors tend to rely on a considerable amount of special pleading to make their respective cases. Therefore, the purpose of the present study is not simply to prove that the letter could not have been authored by a Christian, though this should become relatively apparent, but rather to show that the arguments marshaled by Montevecchi and Ramelli in favor of Christian authorship are not compelling. Furthermore, that a non-Christian context for the letter is considerably more likely than a Christian one given the date of the letter combined with the fact that it contains no explicit Christian markers.⁶

³ O. Montevecchi, “Recensioni e Bibliographica,” *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 302; C.J. Hemer, “Ammonius to Apollonius, Greeting,” *Buried History* 12 (1976) 84–91; E.A. Judge, *Rank and Status in the World of the Caesars and St Paul* (Christchurch: University of Canterbury, 1982) 20–23; G.R. Stanton, “The Proposed Earliest Christian Letter on Papyrus and the Origin of the Term Philalellia,” *ZPE* 54 (1984) 49–63; S.K. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986) 95–96; S.R. Llewelyn, *NewDocs* 6 (1992) 169–177.

⁴ Hemer, “Ammonius to Apollonius,” 89, writes, “The difficulty is not in supposing that this could be a Christian letter, but in establishing that it is [...] The onus lies upon the one who would claim it as Christian. And yet there are probably many cases where this is a possibility. There may be hints consonant with it, and nothing to contradict it, but nothing to prove it.” Later S.R. Llewelyn echoed the same sentiment, “We conclude that the letter [P.Oxy. XLII 3057] gives no indication that the correspondents were Christian. But equally no evidence stands in the way of its being so accepted.” See Llewelyn, *New Docs*, 177.

⁵ O. Montevecchi, “THN ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΚΕΧΙΑΣΜΕΝΗΝ: P.Oxy. XLII 3057,” *Aegyptus* 80 (2000 [2002]) 187–194; I. Ramelli, “Una delle più antiche lettere cristiane extracanoniche?,” *Aegyptus* 80 (2000 [2002]) 169–185.

⁶ For the most recent and detailed study of what constitute genuine Christian markers in documentary papyri, see M. Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth Century Papyri*. *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* I. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006) 43–125.

The "Christian" Aspects of P.Oxy. XLII 3057

For convenience a transcription of the letter along with a translation have been provided.⁷

- Ἀμμώνιος Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ
ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
ἐκομισάμην τὴν κεχιασμένην ἐπιστολὴν
καὶ τὴν ἱματοφορίδα καὶ τοὺς φαινόλας καὶ τὰς
5 σύνριγγα<ς> σου καλὰς, τοὺς δὲ φαινόλας οὐχ ὡς
παλαιοὺς ἔλαβον ἄλλ' εἴ τι μεῖζόν ἐστιν και-
νῶν διὰ προαίρεσιν· οὐ θέλω δέ σε, ἀδελφε, βα-
ρύνειν με ταῖς συνεχέσι φιλανθρωπίαις,
οὐ δυνάμενον ἀμείψασθαι, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον
10 ἡμεῖς προαίρεσιν φιλικῆς διαθέσεως νομί-
ζομεν παρεστακέναι σοι. παρακαλῶ
δέ σε, ἀδελφε, μηκέτι λόγον ποιεῖσθαι πε-
ρὶ τῆς κλειδὸς τῆς μονοχώρου. οὐ γὰρ θέ-
λω ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἔνεκα ἐμοῦ ἢ ἄλ-
15 λου διαφορὰν τινα ἔχειν· ὁμόνοιαν γὰρ καὶ
30 σ[ο]ὺς πάντας.⁸ ἔρρωσο, τιμιώτατε.
φιλαλλῆ<λ>ίαν εὐχομαι ἐν ὑμῖν διαμένειν
ἴν' ἢτε ἀκαταλήρητοι καὶ μὴ ἦτε ὁμοῖοι
ἡμῖν. ἢ γὰρ πείρα ἐπάγεταιί με προτρέψασ-
θαι ὑμᾶς εἰρηνεύειν καὶ μὴ διδόναι ἀφορ-
μὰς ἐτέροις καθ' ὑμῶν· πείρασαι οὖν καὶ δι'
ἐμὲ τοῦτο ποεῖν, χαρισάμενός μοι ὁ με-
ταξὺ ἐπιγνώση ἀγαθόν. τὰ ἔρια ἂν ἦς εἰλη-
φῶς παρὰ Σαλβίου πλήρη καὶ ἢ σοι ἀρεσ-
τά, ἀντίγραφόν μοι· γελοῖα δέ σοι γέγραφα
25 διὰ τῆς προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς, ἃ παραδέξῃ·
ἢ γὰρ ψυχὴ ἀνείμνη γίνεται, ὅταν τὸ
σὸν ὄνομα παρῇ, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔθος ἐχού-
σης ἡρμεῖν διὰ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα, ἀλ<λ>' ὑπο-
φέρει. Λεωνᾶς ἀσπάζομαι σε, δέσποτα,
καὶ τοὺς

(Back →) Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ἀπολλῶ(?) ἐπισκέπτῃ ἀδ(ελφῷ).

Ammonios to Apollonios his brother greeting. I received the crossed letter and the portmanteau and the cloak and (l. 5) your good reeds. I received the cloaks not as old but as better than new because of your intention. I do not want you, brother, to weigh me down with continuous philanthropy, not being able to repay, but we suppose we only (l. 10) offer to you the intention of friendly disposition. I exhort you, brother, no longer to concern yourself with the key of the single room. For I do not want you, the brethren, on account of me or (l. 15) another to have any difference. For I pray that oneness of mind and mutual concord remain among you so that you are free from gossip and you are not like us. For the trial leads me to impel you to peace and not to give (l. 20) a starting point to others against you. And so attempt to do this for me, favoring me, which in the meantime you will recognize as good. Write to me if the wool you received from Silvanus in full measure is pleasing to you. I wrote ridiculous things to you in a (l. 25) former epistle, which you should disregard. For my soul becomes careless whenever your name is present, and this though it has no habit to rest on account of the things

⁷ The letter is written on a rectangular piece of papyrus that measures 13.5 cm by 23.5 cm (H x W). For the most part the papyrus is preserved with the exception of a small vertical tear near the left hand margin owing to a fold. The letter is written with a single hand that is clear, well formed, and displays semi-literary qualities. A digital image of the papyrus may be viewed at: <http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/POxy/papyri/vol42/pages/3057.htm>. To save space I have divided the letter into two columns. Orthographic errors in the Greek text have not been reproduced, but have been corrected in the transcription.

⁸ For the punctuation of l. 29, I have not followed the *editio princeps* but the suggested emendation given in P.W. Pestmann and H.A. Rupprecht, eds., *Berichtigungsliste der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* (Vol. VIII; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 265.

that are happening, but it [soul] endures. I, Leonas, greet you, master, and (l. 30) all your people. Farewell, most honored friend. (back) To Apollonius, son of Apollo(?) surveyer, brother.⁹

This letter, which is rather lengthy by papyrological standards,¹⁰ addresses a number of disparate issues and may be divided into three different sections. In the first section (ll. 3–11), Ammonius thanks Apollonius for having sent certain items and then proceeds to acknowledge his generous philanthropy, noting that he is unable to match it.¹¹ Ammonius then proceeds to advise Apollonius concerning how he ought to deal with some dissension among associates (ll. 11–22). This section of the letter is particularly interesting as it reveals that Ammonius is a rather educated and refined individual given the sentiments expressed and his choice of vocabulary.¹² He thoughtfully and articulately exhorts Apollonius to avoid “strife” or “difference” (διάφορος) with his “brethren”, although the exact cause of the tension is not explicitly stated,¹³ and rhetorically prays that “concord” (ὁμόνοια) and “mutual affection” (φιλαλληλία) might prevail so that they may be “free from gossip” (ἀκαταλήρητος).¹⁴ Since this section of the letter contains much exhortation, this letter may effectively be categorized under the genre of epistolary paraenesis.¹⁵ In the concluding section of the letter (ll. 22–29), Ammonius inquires whether an item that he had previously sent to Apollonius was pleasing and in an act of sheer flattery asks him to disregard some remarks

⁹ Translation adapted from P.Oxy. XLII p. 145.

¹⁰ This letter contains roughly 190 words, whereas a typical first-century papyrus letter averaged only around 87 words. See R.E. Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing: Secretaries, Composition and Collection* (Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter Varsity, 2004) 163–164. For comparison Richards also notes that the letters of Cicero and Seneca respectively averaged 295 and 995 words and that Paul’s letters averaged 2,495 words.

¹¹ On the philanthropy of Apollonius and Ammonius’ apprehensiveness with it see *New-Docs* 6, 173.

¹² Assuming of course that this section of the letter accurately and precisely conveys Ammonius’ words and not those of the scribe, Leonas.

¹³ Perhaps the dissensions directly stemmed from some dispute that arose over “the key of the single room” that is referred to directly before Ammonius’ exhortation to harmony where he entreats Apollonius to no longer concern himself about it (i.e. the key).

¹⁴ As noted in the *ed. pr.* by Parsons (P.Oxy. XLII p. 146 n. 17), this is the first and only attestation of the word ἀκαταλήρητος. Subsequently, it has not reoccurred in the papyri or been found elsewhere. This is also the only time the word φιλαλληλία is ever used in the papyri.

¹⁵ Stowers, *Letter Writing*, 96–99. Concerning the genre of epistolary paraenesis, Stowers notes the following two observations: (1) the writer is typically the recipient’s friend or moral superior and (2) the writer recommends habits of behavior and actions that conform to a certain model of character and attempts to turn the recipient away from contrasting negative models of character. Note also the use of verbs παρακαλέω (l. 11), εὐχομαι (l. 16) and προτρέπω (l. 18) that are indicative of the paraenetic genre.

in a previous letter since “his soul becomes careless” whenever Apollonius’ name is mentioned.¹⁶

I. Crossed Letters

While there is nothing on the surface of the letter that would necessarily suggest it was authored by a Christian, as it contains no explicit markers or symbols that would establish Christian authorship and it is devoid of theological language and seemingly deals with a number of mundane issues, the opening section of the letter (ll. 1–3) has been thought to contain possible Christian elements. Noting the unusual and somewhat enigmatic reference to the reception of a “crossed letter” or “letter marked with a cross” (κεχιασμένην ἐπιστολήν) in l. 3, Parsons mused whether it contained some surreptitious allusion to the cross (crucifixion) and went on to note that the unusual supralinear stroke over the *chi* in χῆλπειν may have also had some significance on this front.¹⁷ Though he admitted this interpretation was unlikely and effectively discounted it because of the early date of the letter, there are a number of other reasons (beyond merely the date) that makes this interpretive possibility utterly untenable.¹⁸ Perhaps the most obvious is that there is no evidence that χῆλζω, which has the meaning “to cross” in the shape of the letter *chi* (X), is ever used to refer to the crucifixion by any early Christian author,¹⁹ as σταυρόω with its implied reference to the shape of the *tau* (T) is always employed.²⁰ For example, in the *Epistle of Barnabas* 9.7, a letter that may well be contemporaneous with P.Oxy. XLII 3057 and may even be provenanced to the same geographic region,²¹

¹⁶ Reference at this point in the letter to “soul” (ψυχή) in no way suggests or even hints at a Christian context given that “soul” was employed in a variety of different non-Christian contexts. See especially J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). In letters of the first and second century “soul” only appears a handful of times: P.Oxy. LV 3806.14 (A.D. 15); BGU IV 1040.21 (II A.D.); P.Tebt. I 56.11 (II A.D.) where a petition is also made “to the gods” (l. 10).

¹⁷ P.Oxy. XLVII 3057 n. 15 (p. 146). I address these points here, because they have not been considered in previous scholarship.

¹⁸ As a freestanding symbol the cross (+) does not appear in any definite Christian context in the Pre-Constantinian period. See G.F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2003) 58–64. The earliest definitive appearance of a cross (+) in a letter provenanced to Oxyrhynchus is in P.Oxy. LVI 3862.1, 34(?) (IV–V).

¹⁹ Neither the verb χῆλζω nor the noun χῆλσμα ever occurs in the LXX, New Testament, or the writings of the Apostolic Fathers.

²⁰ TDNT 7.572–73; M. Hengel, *Crucifixion in the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross* (Trans. Josh Bowden) (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977) 8–9.

²¹ L.W. Barnard, “The ‘Epistle of Barnabas’ and Its Contemporary Setting,” *ANRW* 159–207, who situates the letter in early-second century Alexandria.

the author specifically points out that it is the letter *tau* that symbolizes the cross. Likewise, Justin Martyr further reinforces this point when he draws a deliberate distinction between the sign of the σταυρός or cross (+), which signifies the crucifixion, and that of the χίασμα or rotated cross (x) in his *1 Apology*.²² Furthermore, the earliest pictorial representation of the crucifixion is the *staurogram* (ϣ), which already appears in a few second or third century papyri, and clearly depicts the sign of a σταυρός (T).²³

While neither Montevercchi nor Ramelli attempt to argue that κεχιασμένην ἐπιστολήν should be taken as some veiled allusion to the crucifixion, both nevertheless believe it is a significant Christian indicator within the letter. On this front Montevercchi asserts, apparently influenced by Parson's mus-ing that perhaps there is some connection between the phrase κεχιασμένην ἐπιστολήν and the supralinear stroke over the *chi* in χαίρειν, that these two features of the letter are making a surreptitious reference to "Christ" (χριστός). She argues that κεχιασμένην ἐπιστολήν should be translated as "letter marked with an X" and refers to the phenomenon that may be noted in this present letter in l. 2, where the writer inserts a supralinear stroke over the *chi* in χαίρειν, which she proceeds to argue is the earliest form of the *nomen sacrum* for χριστός. As the sender and recipient were Christians, as well as close friends based on the contents of the letter, Montevercchi argues that both would have been aware of the meaning implied by the *chi* with the supralinear stroke and when Ammonius informed Apollonius that he had received "the letter marked with an X", he was simply acknowledging the reference to Christ in a previous letter. As Montevercchi is aware that the form of the *nomen sacrum* she is alleging here is unusual, to say the very least, she argues that it had to be hidden within the letter since it was written in the wake of the persecution of Domitian when it was particularly unsafe for Christians and would have potentially been very dangerous for either Ammonius or Apollonius to make their Christian identities explicitly known.²⁴

²² *Apol.* 1.60. Here, Justin alleges that when Plato read Num 21:8–9, the incident of the fiery serpents, that Plato had supposed that it was the symbol of the χίασμα that Moses fashioned and placed a brazen serpent on it when in fact it was the "image of a cross" (τύπον σταυροῦ) that served as a type of Christ's crucifixion. Consequently, when Plato talked about the Son of God being placed, "crosswise in the universe" in the *Timaeus* (36b–c), Justin states that this was incorrect. In the LXX Num 21:8–9, when Moses made the "poles" upon which to place the fiery serpent, the word σταυρός is not employed.

²³ In P⁶⁶ the staurogram appears on ten different occasions in the nineteenth chapter of John (John 19:6 (x 3), 15 (x 2), 16, 18, 19, 25, 31; P⁴⁵ at Matthew 26:2; P⁷⁵ at Luke 9:23 and 14:27. On the staurogram see L.W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2006) 139–152. See also K. Aland, "Neue Neutestamentliche Papyri II," *NTS* 10 (1963–64) 77–79.

²⁴ Montevercchi, "ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΚΕΧΙΑΣΜΕΝΗΝ: P.Oxy. XLII 3057," 191–194.

Though this interpretation is certainly interesting and merits some reflection, its plausibility is rather tenuous. Not only is there no evidence that *nomina sacra* were ever embedded within completely different words, as would be the case here if Monteverocchi's interpretation were to be maintained, there is likewise no evidence in the first two centuries that an individual *chi* with a supralinear stroke was ever used as an abbreviation for $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$.²⁵ Furthermore, it remains to be demonstrated how the alleged persecution carried out by Domitian can be so easily invoked and read into the letter at this point to explain the unconventional form of the *nomen sacrum*, as there is absolutely nothing definitive in the letter that would point to such a specific context and this is pure speculation on the part of Monteverocchi.²⁶ Additionally, there may be a much simpler explanation for these apparent peculiarities that is not so sensational and does not require resorting to cryptic interpretations. A search of contemporaneous documents reveals that the letter *chi* with a supralinear stroke was sometimes used as the abbreviation for $\bar{\chi}(\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\epsilon\iota\nu)$.²⁷ In such occurrences this abbreviation typically appears in the opening formula of address and is employed as a convenient space saver since $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\epsilon\iota\nu$ was regularly used in address and

²⁵ In K. Aland's list of attested *nomina sacra* in the extant manuscripts $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ is never abbreviated with a lone χ . See K. Aland, ed., *Repertorium der Griechischen Christlichen Papyri. I, Biblische Papyri* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976) 420–428. However, in certain Latin epitaphs of the late third century X is sometimes used as the abbreviation for *Iesus Christus*, although this shorthand abbreviation does not occur with the supralinear stroke (*ICUR* I 10 (= *ICUR* N.S. III 8716) A.D. 268/69; *ICUR* I 17 (= *ICUR* N.S. V 13886) A.D. 291). See also Snyder, *Ante Pacem*, 220.

²⁶ While the "persecution factor" has sometimes been advanced to explain why there are not more explicit Christian markers (i.e. *nomina sacra*, monograms, isopsephisms, etc.) in papyrus letters from the Pre-Constantinian era, such reasoning is often sensational and fails to adequately take account of other more probable reasons for the lack of such markers. Not every Christian would have been aware of such explicit religious markers as they only began to appear with some regularity when Christian self-identity became more established. Likewise, some Christians might have deliberately avoided putting such markers in their personal correspondences not for fear of persecution, but because they served no express purpose within the letter and were simply extraneous. Additionally, it is important to keep in mind that most personal letters were sent via friends and acquaintances and there is no evidence that the state was especially interested in reading people's personal correspondences for evidence of cultic devotion, therefore causing Christians to deliberately obfuscate Christians markers in their letters. On these points see Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth Century Papyri*, 48–49; E. Wipszycka "La christianisation de l'Égypte aux IV^e–VI^e siècles. Aspects sociaux et ethniques," *Aegyptus* 68 (1988) 118–120; H.I. Bell, "Evidences of Christianity in Egypt During the Roman Period," *HTR* 37 (1944) 198.

²⁷ Contemporary examples where $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\epsilon\iota\nu$ is abbreviated as $\bar{\chi}(\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\epsilon\iota\nu)$: *BGU* II 612.2 (A.D. 57); *BGU* VI 1467.2 (A.D. I). At other times $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\epsilon\iota\nu$ is abbreviated with $\bar{\chi}\alpha(\iota\epsilon\iota\nu)$: *P.Ryl.* II 94.4 (A.D. 14–37); *P.Ryl.* II 183.3 (A.D. 16); *R.Ryl.* II 183A.4 (A.D. 16); *BGU* IV 1079.2 (A.D. 41); *BGU* III 748.3.4 (A.D. 62); *BGU* III 981.1.4 (A.D. 79); *BGU* IV 1096.2 (I); *BGU* VI 1235.2 (I); *P.Ryl.* II 168.2 (9 Oct A.D. 120); *P.Ryl.* II 180.2 (A.D. 124); *BGU* VII 1564.2 (A.D. 138); *CPR* VII 53.2 (II). The abbreviations $\chi\alpha\iota(\epsilon\iota\nu)$ and $\chi\alpha\iota\pi(\epsilon\iota\nu)$ are also attested, albeit less frequently.

the recipient would have had little difficulty apprehending the meaning of the abbreviation. A more plausible explanation therefore is that the scribe who wrote the letter either intended to abbreviate *χαίρειν* but after writing the initial *chi* with a supralinear stroke decided to write it out in full, without erasing the supralinear stroke, or out of scribal habit wrote the supraliner stroke over the *chi* after this letter was written and then failed to erase it.²⁸ While Montevocchi is aware of this abbreviation for *χαίρειν*, she summarily discounts the former options since she believes the calculated spacing of the first two lines precludes such a possibility.²⁹ However, since *χαίρειν* is the last word in the opening formula and regardless of whether it was abbreviated or not, the spacing and alignment are nicely preserved, I am not sure whether the scribal possibilities just raised can be summarily dismissed, especially in favor of a cryptic interpretation for which there is no extant parallel.

Turning to the rather enigmatic reference of the “crossed letter” (τὴν κεχιασμένην ἐπιστολήν) in l. 3, it is unlikely that it has any reference to the supralinear stroke over the *chi*. While it must be acknowledged that the verb *χιάζω* appears rather infrequently in documentary papyri and the reference is somewhat unusual given that this is the only attestation of the phrase, it should not automatically be assumed that the writer was being deliberately obscure and that the reference must be taken to convey a hidden meaning. A survey of the use of the verb *χιάζω* in documentary papyri reveals that it was typically used to refer to the “crossing out” or “canceling” of a document. Here, the verb is most often used in the context of canceling out of “loans” (δάνειον) by crossing them out, effectively “invalidating” (ἄκυρος) them.³⁰ While *κεχιασμένην ἐπιστολήν* is without parallel a very similar phrase, “crossed writing” or “writing marker with a cross” (*κεχιασμένην γραφήν*), occurs on a few occasions in documents of the late first/early second century in the context of instructions for loan cancellations.³¹ Based on similar usage this would therefore suggest that *κεχιασμένην ἐπιστολήν* should be interpreted within this context. Accordingly, while it could sug-

²⁸ I am particularly persuaded by the first possibility since the *alpha* in *χαίρειν* is unusually large, suggesting that the scribe may have temporally paused before writing it.

²⁹ Montevocchi, “THN EPISTOLHN KEXIASMENHN: P.Oxy. XLII 3057,” 190.

³⁰ *P.Col.* X 249 (A.D. I) is one of a number of such loans that is particularly illustrative on this point since it is marked with a number of large crosses showing that it had been invalidated. A digital image of this papyrus may be viewed at: <http://www.wapp.cc.columbia.edu/ldpd/app/apis/item?mode=item&key=columbia.apis.p282>.

³¹ *SB VIII* 9765.16 (= *P.Oxy.* II 369 desc.) (13 Sept. 81)—... τοῦ δανείου συν γραφὴν κε[χιασμέ]νην εἰς ἀκύρωσιν...; *P.Oxy.* X 1282.34 (15 Nov. 83)—... τοῦ δανείου συγγραφὴν κεχιασμένην εἰς ἀκύρωσιν...; *P.Flor.* I 61.2.65 (8 Feb. 85)—... καὶ ἐκ[έ]λευσε τὸ χειρ[ό]-γραφον χιασθῆναι; *P.Wisc.* I 14.18 (16 May 131)—... τὰ δὲ δάνεια χιασθέντα ἀποδοθήσεται τῇ Ἀσκληπιάδι...

gest that the previous letter sent by Apollonius to Ammonius was being invalidated, something that might not be unusual if it were an official letter or if the term ἐπιστολή is being used here in an extended sense to mean some kind of document in general, if it were a personal letter that was being referred to, then it would be more unusual. However, there is another interpretive possibility here. In some letters, a number of them dated to the early second century, a large cross (x) or a saltire pattern is contained on the address.³² It is believed that the primary purpose of these symbols was to help prevent the unauthorized opening of the letter. When a letter was complete and ready to be sent it was typically folded or rolled, affording some degree of secrecy, and was either sealed with clay or tied with a string. If it was sealed with a string, the sender might draw a saltire pattern on and around the string so that the letter could not be undetectably opened before delivery, which helped to preserve the confidentiality of the letter.³³ In this light, the reference to the “letter marked with an X” could potentially be interpreted as referring to the recipient’s acknowledgment that the previous letter arrived sealed, with no evidence that it had been tampered with or opened before delivery.³⁴

II. ὁμόνοια & φιλαλληλία

Moving to the next feature of the letter that has been taken as evidence of Christian provenance, this time by Ramelli (following Parsons), is a phrase that is employed midway through the letter. After exhorting Apollonius and his brethren to abstain from quarrelling (ll. 13–15), Ammonius rhetorically prays that “concord and mutual affection” (ὁμόνοιαν γὰρ καὶ φιλαλλη<λ>ίαν) might exist amongst them (ll. 15–16).³⁵ As the only other

³² P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (2nd rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 173. See SB V 7572 (Early II); *P.Mich.* III 202 (5 May 105); *P.Giss.* 11 (18 July 118); *BGU* III 423 (II).

³³ R.S. Bagnall and R. Cribiore, *Women’s Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC–AD 800* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2006) 33; K. Vandorpe, *Breaking the Seal of Secrecy: Sealing Practises in Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt Based on Greek, Demotic and Latin Papyrological Evidence* (Leiden: Papyrologisch instituut, 1995); E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968, repr. 1980) 130, 139.

³⁴ Interestingly, *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057 may give two hints why Ammonius might have been concerned with keeping certain matters private. In ll. 15–18 and 27–28 Ammonius relates to Apollonius how he had been subjected to harassment from others and later warns Apollonius in ll. 18–20 “not to give others a starting point against you.” In the apparent context of internal quarrels it may be wondered if the threat prompted Ammonius to keep the contents of his letter confidential. For a similar interpretation see *NewDocs* 6.173.

³⁵ It should be pointed out here that the use of prayers (εὐχουμαι) in letters is widespread in a number of different religious contexts and is in no way a decisive indicator of Christian authorship. See E. Wipszycka, “Remarques sur les lettres privées chrétiennes des II^e–IV^e”

parallel to the use of ὁμόνοια and φιλαλληλία in such close proximity can be found in one of the letters of the fifth century ascetic, Nilus of Ancrya, Ramelli believes that this verbal overlap can be cited as evidence of Christian authorship.³⁶ While commenting on James 4:5, Nilus writes, "What does the divine spirit love better than the unity (ἔνωσις) and concord (ὁμόνοια), and the mutual affection (φιλαλληλία) of the brethren?" Yet, despite this parallel, it may be wondered whether it genuinely constitutes a compelling argument bearing in mind there is roughly a three hundred year gulf separating the epistles of Nilus and *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057 and the verbal overlap consists of only two words.

Turning to early Christian writings it should be pointed out that neither ὁμόνοια nor φιλαλληλία appear in the New Testament, although the former is periodically attested in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers (as well as the LXX).³⁷ While ὁμόνοια occurs rather infrequently in documentary papyri,³⁸ its use outside of papyri is fairly widespread.³⁹ On the other hand, the use of φιλαλληλία is more restricted as it is unattested in the papyri outside of the present letter.⁴⁰ In the first few centuries of the Common Era this term is confined almost exclusively to the writings of the mathematician Nicomachus, where it is used to describe the mutual friendship

siècles: À propos d'un livre de M. Naldini," *JJP* 18 (1974) 205; A.M. Nobbs, "Formulas of Belief in Greek Papyrus Letters of the Third and Fourth Centuries," in *Ancient History in a Modern University* (ed. T.W. Hillard *et al.*; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 2.236–237.

³⁶ Ramelli, "Una delle più antiche lettere," 182–183; Parsons, "The Earliest Christian Letter?," 289; *P.Oxy.* XLVII p. 146. Nilus employs both ὁμόνοια and φιλαλληλία while commenting on Jas 4:5: ἐπιποθεῖ, φησὶν, τὸ πνεῦμα, ὃ κατέφκησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἡμῖν. τί δὲ ἐπιποθεῖ, καὶ στέργει, καὶ ἀγαπᾷ τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα, ἢ τὴν ἔνωσιν, καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, καὶ τὴν φιλαλληλίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν; ... PG 79.144A (Ep. 146). However, it seems that unless an article has dropped out that Nilus is associating ὁμόνοια more with ἔνωσις than with φιλαλληλία.

³⁷ 4 Macc 3:21; 13:25; Ps 54:15; 82:6; Wis 10:5; 18:9; Sir 25:1; 1 Clem. 9:4; 11:2; 20:3, 10f; 21:1; 30:3; 34:7; 49:5; 50:5; 60:4; 61:1; 63:2; 65:1; Ign. Eph. 4:1f; 13:1; Ign. Magn. 6:1; 15:1; Ign. Trall. 12:2; Ign. Phld. 1:1; 11:2; Herm. Mand. 8 1:9; Herm. Sim. 9 15:2.

³⁸ The noun ὁμόνοια and its accompanying verb ὁμονοεῖω appear in the following documents: *SB VI* 9528.4 (late I/early II); *P.Oxy.* IX 1216.16 (II–III); *P.Oxy.* XLII 3065.22 (III); *P.Lond.* V 1911.13 (early IV); *SB I* 4827.5 (IV–VII); *SB XIV* 11957 r, ctr 10 (Late V); *P.Cair. Masp.* I 67004.11 (c. 567); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67158.25 (28 Apr 568); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67314 Fr. 3.40 (569–570); *P.Ness.* III 75.7 (late VII). The list does not include references to people bearing the name Ὁμόνια.

³⁹ In a number of first and second century coins from Thrace and Asia Minor ὁμόνοια is used in the context of "alliance" to celebrate or mark a treaty or a pact between two cities. See P.R. Franke and M.K. Nollé, *Die Homonoia-Münzen Kleinasien und der thrakischen Randgebiete: I Katalog* (Saarbrücken: Saarländische Druckerei und Verlag, 1997).

⁴⁰ The closely related term φιλόλληλος occurs twice in two Byzantine marriage documents (*P.Lond.* V 1711 Fr.F. 56 (c. A.D. 566–573); *P.Cair.Mas.* III 67310 v.3 (c. A.D. 566–573)). For the most detailed treatment of the term φιλαλληλία see Stanton, "The Proposed Earliest Christian Letter on Papyrus," 54–56.

that exists between numbers,⁴¹ and is used once by Diogenes of Lycia, the second century epicurean who employs the term to describe the conditions that will exist in a future utopia.⁴² It is therefore not until the third century, with Origen, that the term is first definitively employed by a Christian, after which its use by Christians becomes more widespread.⁴³ Consequently, there is no evidence that Christians had any exclusive command of either ὁμόνοια or φιλαλληλία in the first three centuries.

As for the sentiments expressed by Ammonius at this point in the letter, to avoid strife and contention by maintaining mutual affection and concord, it is clear that such sentiments had a wide circulation that transcended any (one) group. In *P.Oxy.* IX 1216, a letter dated to the second century (or third century) that begins with an invocation to the “gods” (ll. 3–4, ἐγὼ εὔχομαι ἀεὶ πᾶσει τοῖς θεοῖς περὶ σοῦ,...), the sender, in language that is very similar to that expressed by Ammonius, prays that “concord” might exist between him and the addressee (ll. 15–16. τοῦτο γὰρ εὔχομαι ὑμᾶς ὁμονοεῖν).⁴⁴ Josephus likewise reports when describing the Pharisees that they too sought “mutual affection” (φιλάλληλος) and “concord” (ὁμόνοια) among members of their own sect.⁴⁵ Even Dio of Prusa, in language reminiscent of *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057, urges his hearers to have “affection (φιλία) and concord (ὁμόνοια) toward others” (ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας).⁴⁶ By reference to these and other contemporary examples it should be evident that even if early Christians were especially noted for maintaining harmony and affection among their coreligionists, such ideals were also shared by a number of other groups. Therefore, the mere use of such language does not establish or even necessarily point toward a Christian context.

III. Rank Reversal and Scribal Greetings

Turning to the concluding section of the letter (ll. 29–30), while it was once believed that it employed rank reversal because Ammonius referred to Apollonius as “brother” (ἀδελφός) throughout the body of the letter, but in the

⁴¹ Nicom. *Ar.* 2.19.1. Also cited by Iamblichus when quoting from Nicomachus (*in Nic.* 30.20; 33.26). See also Stanton, “The Proposed Earliest Christian Letter on Papyrus,” 58–60.

⁴² Diog. *Oen. Fr.* 56.8 (=NF 21.8). See Stanton, “The Proposed Earliest Christian Letter on Papyrus,” 61–62.

⁴³ Origen, *Adnot.Deut.* 17.28.10.

⁴⁴ Cf. *P.Oxy.* XLII 3065.20–22 (III).

⁴⁵ *B.J.* 2.166. Cf. *B.J.* 2.119 (Essenes).

⁴⁶ *Or.* 40.36.

conclusion appeared to address him as “master” (l. 29 δεσπότης) and this was thought to echo certain of Paul’s letters,⁴⁷ in light of a proposed textual emendation made in the *Berichtigungsliste* such an argument now appears largely irrelevant.⁴⁸ Instead of the punctuation contained in the *editio princeps* where Ammonius concludes the letter by addressing Apollonius as his “master”⁴⁹, it is more certain that the punctuation should be adjusted so that it is the scribe, “Leonas”, who is issuing this address: “I Leonas greet you master and all your people. Farewell most honored friend.” (Λεωνᾶς ἀσπασζομαί σε, δέσποτα, καὶ τοὺς ζ[ο]ὺς πάντα. ἔρρωσο, τειμιώτατε).⁵⁰ Nevertheless, given that any imposition of punctuation is both conjectural and interpretative and therefore potentially changes the original sense of what was being expressed in the letter, let it be supposed for the sake of argument that *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057 does employ a form of rank reversal at this point. Does this necessarily imply Christian authorship? A survey of letters dated to the first and second centuries reveal that forms of rank reversal occur with some frequency, especially in either initial greetings or valedictions where it is not uncommon for the sender to address the recipient as both “Lord” (κύριος) and “brother” (ἀδελφός) as a formulaic sign of respect and affection.⁵¹ Consequently, the presence of rank reversal in a

⁴⁷ Montevocchi, “Recensioni e Bibliographica,” 302, who notes that a possible analogy may exist with Philm 15–16 where Paul exhorts Philemon to receive Onesimus not as a “slave” (δοῦλος) but as a “beloved brother” (ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφός). In this earlier article she also argued that this increased the probability that *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057 was a Christian letter: “Non è un argomento decisivo, ma si aggiunge agli altri per rendere legittima l’ipotesi.”

⁴⁸ Op. cit. n. 8. Though it might be tempting to suppose that the use of the familial address, in this case ἀδελφός, could suggest a Christian context, it should be pointed out that such familial language is rather common in papyrus letters and cannot be used as a very conclusive marker of Christian provenance. See P. Artz-Grabner, “‘Brothers’ and ‘Sisters’ in Documentary Papyri and in Early Christianity,” *RivB* 50 (2002) 189–201; *NewDocs* 1.59–61; 2.49–50.

⁴⁹ In the *ed. pr.* it reads (ll. 28–31) “[...] but Leonas endures. I greet you, master, and all your people. Farewell, most honoured friend.” (αλ<λ> ὑποφέρει Λεωνᾶ· ἀσπασζομαί σε, δέσποτα, καὶ τοὺς ζ[ο]ὺς πάντα. ἔρρωσο, τειμιώτατε).

⁵⁰ According to this reading “endures” (ὑποφέρει) in ll. 28–29 is to be taken with “soul” (ἡ ψυχὴ) in l. 26. Ammonius is therefore stating that despite “pressing troubles” (ἐπερχόμενα) in l. 28 his soul is enduring. In the *ed. pr.* Parsons noted on p. 146 n. 28 that this reading had been suggested: “Dr. Rea suggests a stop before Λεωνᾶς; an additional greeting from some other person, perhaps from the scribe himself.” The hand with which the letter was written is very skilled as it is regular, neat, clear, displays semi-literary qualities, and the orthography is relatively good, which suggests the presence of a scribe and would seem to lend some additional strength to this reading.

⁵¹ *SB V* 7743.2 (I–II); *P.IFAO* II 41 Fr. B 10 (I–II); *P.Brem.* 9.21 (113–120); *P.Brem.* 54.16 (113–120); *P.Alex.* 25.27 (II); *P.Mert.* II 82.2, 7 (late II); *PSI* XII 1259.1, 27 (II–early III); *P.Oxy.* I 117.2 (II–III); *PSI* III 177.1–2 (II–III).

letter proves little in the way of establishing or even indicating the religious commitments of the sender.⁵²

Though Ramelli seemingly agrees with the emendation given in the *Berichtigungsliste*, which effectively negates any parallel being drawn to Pauline forms of rank reversal that could be used to bolster Christian authorship of the letter,⁵³ she insinuates that the scribal greeting somehow strengthens the case for Christian authorship since it has a number of parallels to certain NT letters.⁵⁴ Even though *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057 and certain letters of the New Testament were written by scribes who made their presence directly known, the most notable example in the NT being found at Romans 16:22 where Tertius sends his own greetings at the end of the letter,⁵⁵ such explicit scribal salutations, as Ramelli tacitly admits notwithstanding the fact that she only cites NT parallels, were very widespread. In a notable example Cicero informs his friend Atticus that if his scribe Alexis wished to send him greetings, then he really should put them in a letter of his own, instead of putting them in Atticus' letters.⁵⁶ Likewise, in *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3505, a letter dated to the first or second century that gives no indication it was authored by a Christian, the scribe who wrote on behalf of a certain Papontos makes his presence known at the end of the letter as he appends his own greeting, "I, Dionysius, greet you" (ll. 24–25, ἀσπάζομαί σε Διονύσιος) with the same language that is employed by Leonas in *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057. Additionally, other examples from contemporaneous papyrus letters could also be cited.⁵⁷ Ultimately then, regardless of the presence of explicit scribal greetings in

⁵² Even when forms of rank reversal are employed with the body of a letter (as opposed to the opening and closing formulae), which is considerably more uncommon, it still does not establish Christian provenance. In *NewDocs* 6.175–177, S.R. Llewelyn conducted a cursory examination of the use of ἀδελφός and δεσπότης within the body of various letters to see whether it could be used as a solid Christian indicator. On p. 177 he noted, "the master/brother distinction is not sufficient to indicate Christian authorship in the fourth century AD as both pagan and Christian authors could use it."

⁵³ While Ramelli appears to agree that the *BL* emendation is correct, based on her transcription of the letter and accompanying translation (pp. 170–171), she does point to 1 Tim 6:2 as another example of rank reversal where Paul invites slaves that have Christian masters to consider them as more than masters but as brothers and at least implies there is some additional parallel with *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057. See Ramelli, "Una delle più antiche lettere," 174–175.

⁵⁴ Ramelli, "Una delle più antiche lettere," 175, who cites Rom 16:22, 1 Cor 16:21, Col 4:18, 2 Thess 3:17, Gal 6:11, 1 Pet 5:12.

⁵⁵ Rom 16:22—ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ Τέρτιος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν κυρίῳ.

⁵⁶ Cicero, *Att.* 5.20: "I [Cicero] am pleased that Alexis so often sends greetings to me; but why cannot he put them in a letter of his own, as Tiro, who is my Alexis, does for you."

⁵⁷ For similar scribal remarks at the end of a letter see *P.Mert.* II 82.19–20 (II) and *P.Mich.* VIII 482.8–10 (23 Aug A.D. 133).

certain letters of the New Testament, the fact that *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057 was written by a scribe who wished to greet the addressee has no bearing whatsoever on whether or not this letter should be read in a Christian context.

IV. ἐπισκέπτῃς as a Christian Office

Finally, Ramelli argues that the address preserved on the back of the letter (l. 31) likely contains a reference to a Christian office. In the *ed. pr.* the address reads “To Apollonius [...], surveyor, his brother” (Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ἀπολλῶ(?)⁵⁸ ἐπισκέπ(τη) ἁδ(ε)λ(φῶ)). The word translated here as “surveyor” is ἐπισκέπτῃς, which is abbreviated in the address as ἐπισκέπ. Given the close similarity of ἐπισκέπτῃς and ἐπίσκοπος,⁵⁹ Ramelli tries to make some connection between the two words, assuming that the former also refers to a Christian office, and insinuates that ἐπισκέπτῃς should here be understood as some kind of “inspector” or “overseer” of a Christian community.⁶⁰ She does this through a rather convoluted argument where she attempts to demonstrate that since the verb ἐπισκοπέω and the verb ἐπισκέπτομαι appear to have been used somewhat interchangeably in certain of the writings attributed to the Apostolic Fathers, this suggests that the noun ἐπισκέπτῃς could be used as a reference to an ecclesiastical office.⁶¹

Despite this line of reasoning there is no evidence the noun ἐπισκέπτῃς was ever used interchangeably with ἐπίσκοπος in early Christian texts, or that it was ever used by early Christian writers to refer to a specific ecclesiastical office. This noun is unattested in the LXX, the NT, the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, and is not used by a single Christian writer until at least the fourth century, when Ephraim (the Syrian) employs it to refer to the righteous who attended to the sick.⁶² Noting the rare, as well as late,

⁵⁸ As Parsons noted (*P.Oxy.* XLII p. 146 n. 31) what follows the abbreviation Ἀπολλῶ () is uncertain. Is it a name, such as Ἀπολλῶ(νίου), or is it a place Ἀπολλῶ(νοπιλίτης)? The superscripted *omega* clearly suggests that it is an abbreviation.

⁵⁹ This similarity did not escape the notice of Parsons who pointed out in the *ed. pr.* (*P.Oxy.* XLII p. 146 n. 15) that ἐπισκόπ(ω) could not be read. Ramelli agrees with Parsons, noting “Il testo dà solo ἐπισκέπ- e, come fa notare Parsons, non sembra possibile leggere ἐπισκόπος (31), poiché difficilmente, in un testo grafia chiara quale è quello della lettera, una E potrebbe confondersi con una O.” Ramelli, “Una delle più antiche lettere,” 176.

⁶⁰ Ramelli, “Una delle più antiche lettere,” 175–177.

⁶¹ On the attestations of the verb ἐπισκέπτομαι in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers see: 1 Clem. 25:5; Pol. Phil 6:1; Herm. Vis. 3.9.2; Herm. Mand. 8.1.10; Herm. Sim. 1.1.8; Herm. Sim. 8.2.9; 3.3; Herm. Sim. 9.10.4.

⁶² Ephr. *Interrogationes et responsiones* 2.197e: ...οἱ τῶν καταπονουμένων ἀντιλήπτορες, οἱ τῶν χηρῶν προστάται, οἱ τῶν κατακειμένων ἐπισκέπται, οἱ πενήσαντες νῦν, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος. There is no hint that Ephraim uses οἱ ἐπισκέπται as a reference to a specific ecclesiastical office.

usage of this noun in patristic literature, in Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* it is simply rendered as "visitor" with no implication that it was ever used as a reference to a Christian office. Furthermore, since the noun ἐπισκέπτης is well attested in contemporary documentary papyri and typically referred to the official who helped determine the areas under cultivation that were subject to taxation within a Nome⁶³—an administrative/geographic division within Egypt—is it not therefore more reasonable and plausible to suppose that when Ammonius addresses Apollonius with this title that he is simply referring to his office in this capacity and is not using an ecclesiastical title for which there is no parallel.⁶⁴ Here, the burden of proof lies squarely on Ramelli to show why, in the absence of any genuine evidence, ἐπισκέπτης should be understood as a reference to some ecclesiastical office within the context of *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057, whereas in other attestations in the papyri it clearly refers to government officials who assessed the areas under cultivation for tax purposes.⁶⁵

⁶³ On the office of the ἐπισκέπτης see H.C. Youtie, "P.Mich.Inv. 341: A Price of Wheat," *ZPE* 36 (1979) 79–80. For attestations in documentary papyri see: *P.Lond.* III 1171.63 (8 B.C.); *P.IFAO* I 7.12 (A.D. 26); *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3465.6 (A.D. 63/4); *P.Muench.* 3–1 64.18 (A.D. 86/7); *P.Ryl.* II 168.7 (A.D. 120); *P.Sarap.* 45.9 (A.D. 127); *P.Ross.Georg.* II 22.2, 7 (A.D. 154–59); *SB* I 4416.7 (A.D. 158–59); *P.Oxy.* II 589.1 (II); *P.Wisc.* II 55.8 (II); *SB* XVI 12691.3 (II); *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2793.6 (II/III); *SB* XVI 12607.3 (II/III); *P.Flor.* I 6.14 (A.D. 210); *P.Oslo.* II 27.1 (A.D. 244); *SB* X 10556.11 (III); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1669.16 (III/IV A.D.).

⁶⁴ Since Apollonius worked as a "surveyor" (ἐπισκέπτης), it may be wondered whether this could help to explain the tensions alluded to earlier in the letter. Given that there is evidence that arguments and disputes periodically erupted over land assessments, since such measurements had tax implications, it may be wondered whether the tensions among the "brethren" were work related. For evidence of such disputes in the second century and third century at Oxyrhynchus see: *P.Oxy.* VII 1032 (A.D. 162), Petition, concerns a dispute arising out of some irregularity in the registration of a vineyard; *P.Oxy.* VII 1032 (III A.D.), Petition, complaint that land has been improperly assessed; *P.Oxy.* IV 718 (II A.D.), Petition, complaint that property has been improperly assessed; *P.Oxy.* III 488 (III A.D.), Petition, complaint that land has been improperly assessed (addition of an extra aroua).

⁶⁵ To make such an argument I believe that Ramelli is at the very least obligated to explain or justify her reasoning for the ecclesiastical definition of ἐπισκέπτης via a comparison with other attestations of this term in the papyri, which she fails to do. Interestingly, the very same abbreviation (ἐπισκέπ()) employed in *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057 can be found in *SB* X 10270.14.3 (A.D. 221–23) where it clearly has to be taken as a reference to the nome official responsible for assessing land for tax purposes since this is modified by the adjective ἄβροχος (unflooded). In Egypt unflooded lands were typically assessed and levied at a lower tax rate than others sorts of lands (i.e. βεβρεγμένη (flooded)) since they were especially hard to cultivate given that they could only be watered with difficulty and were generally less productive than other sorts of land. See W.L. Westermann, "The 'Dry Land' in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt," *CP* 17 (1922) esp. 22–25.

Conclusion

Though this analysis confined itself to the most essential points marshaled by Montevocchi and Ramelli in favor of Christian authorship for *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057 and has not treated every single argument presented in their works, it should be clear that there are a number of compelling reasons for doubting their claims. While they do attempt to provide evidence that would support a Christian reading of the letter, they often do so via special pleading where cryptic interpretations and implausible conjectures are given greater weight than more practical explanations. Additionally, both works tend to seize upon every aspect of this letter that ostensibly shares some Christian parallel, which is then exhibited as evidence of Christian authorship, and fail to adequately acknowledge that such features are not exclusively Christian. On this front it would appear both works suffer from the same tunnel vision that plagued Eusebius when he attempted to argue that the Therapeutae, described by Philo in his treatise *On the Contemplative Life*, were one of the earliest Christian communities in Egypt.⁶⁶ Eusebius is certain the group is Christian and even goes so far as to reassure his readers of this fact since he can cite a few loose parallels this group shared with early Christians, namely, that they held all their possessions in common, they had a form of communion, and they allowed women to join their ranks.⁶⁷ Notwithstanding the assurances of Eusebius, the parallels he points out have failed to convince contemporary scholarship given their superficial nature combined with the fact that non-Christian groups could have likewise possessed such characteristics—not to mention that Eusebius also reads into Philo's account other Christian elements that are simply not present.⁶⁸

While this paper cannot absolutely prove that *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057 was not sent by a Christian or that it is not, as Montevocchi and Ramelli argue, an Egyptian counterpart to *1 Clement* written in the wake of the persecution of Domitian with the purpose of easing tensions and divisions in a fledgling Christian community at Oxyrhynchus,⁶⁹ it is hoped that this examination has cast a considerable amount of doubt on their claims. Given that this letter (like so many other personal letters preserved on papyrus) is fairly

⁶⁶ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.17.1–24. On the other hand, Philo argues that this group was a counterpart to the Essenes.

⁶⁷ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.17.6, 18–19.

⁶⁸ G.P. Richardson, "Philo and Eusebius on Monasteries and Monasticism: The Therapeutae and Kellia," in *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Honour of John C. Hurd* (ed. B.H. Maclean; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993) 334–359.

⁶⁹ Montevocchi, "THN ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΚΕΧΙΑΣΜΕΝΗΝ: *P.Oxy.* XLII 3057," 192–194; Ramelli, "Una delle più antiche lettere," 185.

laconic and contains a relatively high degree of implicit information that is shared between the sender and addressee, it naturally invites multiple interpretations. Consequently, establishing one particular reading over another is sometimes difficult. However, this does not mean that all interpretations are equally valid as the best reading is the one that seeks to situate the letter in its most probable context by reference to both internal and external factors and abstains, as much as possible, from unwarranted conjectures and possibilities.

CHAPTER FIVE

℘⁵⁰ (P.YALE I 3) AND THE QUESTION OF ITS FUNCTION

John Granger Cook

In 1937 Carl Kraeling published the *editio princeps* of P.Yale I 3 (inv. 1543), which Ernst von Dobschütz numbered ℘⁵⁰ in the sequence of New Testament papyri.¹ It was re-edited again in 1967, apparently by C. Bradford Welles, with an extensive palaeographical analysis. Welles's transcription was later corrected by Stephen Emmel in two places.² Its origins are Egypt, although it was purchased from a Paris dealer in 1933.³ The papyrus has dimensions of 8.8 cm × 13.8 cm per leaf. Although the leaves have been cut apart, they would originally have formed a bifolium of around 17.6 cm in width and 13.8 cm in height. The bifolium was folded across once and then four times horizontally. The horizontal lines of the folds can be seen in the accompanying photograph of the bifolium's side which comprises pages one and four. The vertical fold was made when the ink was moistened, because traces of letters on page 3 appear on page 2. A punctuation mark at the end of 2.6 appears at the beginning of 3.5, for example. Traces of letters from the beginning of lines 3.6 and 3.7 appear at their corresponding place at the ends of lines 2.7 and 2.8. The same is the case with letters at the beginning of 3.11, 3.12, and 3.13 which appear at the end of lines 2.10, 2.11, and 2.12 respectively.⁴ The scribe decided to separate the text of

I thank Dr. Thomas J. Kraus for helping me do this article. I also am indebted to Prof. Theodore de Bruyn for reading the paper and graciously sharing his material on amulets with me. Prof. Jennifer Wright Knust gave me a crucial key for the understanding of the papyrus by encouraging me to look at the patristic texts.

¹ C.H. Kraeling, "P 50. Two Selections from Acts," in *Quantulacumque. Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends* (ed. R.P. Casey, S. and A.K. Lake; London: Christophers, 1937) 163–172.

² C.B. Welles, "3. Acts VIII, 26–32; X, 26–31," in *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library I* (ed. J.F. Oates, A.E. Samuel, and C.B. Welles; American Studies in Papyrology, vol. 2; New Haven/Toronto: American Society of Papyrologists, 1967) 15–21. S. Emmel, "Greek Biblical Papyri in the Beinecke Library," *ZPE* 112 (1996) 289–294, esp. 294. The corrections did not depart from the transcription of Kraeling. Kraeling, however, in 2.5 supplies a letter (ι) in δυνάμει that is not in the MS.

³ Kraeling, "P 50," 163; Welles, "P. Yale I 3," 15.

⁴ This is clear from the digital photograph (.tif format) of pages (columns) 2 and 3. Other similar examples can be seen from the photographs (when viewed using the .tif files that the Beinecke library can supply). Cf. P.CtYBR inv. 1543, Beinecke Rare Book Room and Manuscript Library, Yale University. With the .tif files (17.5 megabytes in size), one can use the computer's zoom feature to reach high levels of magnification.

Acts 8:32 by drawing a line below 2.14 which extends into the beginning of 3.14. Apparently he decided to add ἄφωνος (silent) on 2.15, marked out the first line and then added another horizontal line below 2.15. Two wide spaces in the cut between the leaves of the bifolium, about 1.5 cm long and 3 cm from both the top and bottom edges, may suggest the possibility of later binding into a codex.⁵

The first page (or column) has 22 lines. The second and third pages have 21 lines each, and the last page has only 6 lines. Although Kraeling considered the possibility of 25 letters in 1.1, the word ἄγγελος (angel) must have been abbreviated given constraints of space.⁶ The longest line in the bifolium is 1.4 with 23 letters, and like the rest of page 1, it has a margin of 0.5 cm on the left. Not counting 1.1 the average number of letters per line in page 1 is 18. The average per line for page 2 is 16 letters, that of page 3 is 17, and that of page 4 is 15. The palaeographical evidence for the date of the text has resulted in ambiguous results ranging from estimates of III C.E. to "IV/V" which presumably means the fourth or the fifth century C.E.⁷ Kraeling dates it to the middle of the fourth century.⁸ Others who argue for a fourth century date include A.C. Clark, G. Maldfeld, and H. Hunger.⁹ T.C. Skeat and C. Roberts identified it as a fifth century text.¹⁰ K. Aland dates it as IV–V C.E.¹¹ The difficulty of dating is apparent given the multiplicity of opinions by experts in palaeography. Consider this example. Welles asserts that "the fully looped *alpha* goes out early in the fourth century."¹² But one can find similar cursive *alphas* in *P.Berol.* 11629 which C. Cavallo and H. Maehler

⁵ Welles, "P. Yale I 3," 15. E.G. Turner does not believe it is originally from a codex (*The Typology of the Early Codex* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977] 148). G.H.R. Horsley, "Reconstructing a Biblical Codex: The Prehistory of M^{PER} n.s. XVII. 10 (P.Vindob. G 28 831)," in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin, 13.–19.8. 1995* (APF 3; ed. B. Kramer et al.; Stuttgart/Leipzig: Teubner, 1997) 473–481, esp. 481 doubts it is from a codex given the continuation of Acts 10 directly after 8.

⁶ Kraeling, "P 50," 165.

⁷ Welles, "P. Yale I 3," 15–17 argues for a date around 300. P.W. Comfort and D.P. Barrett follow him in their dating (*The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, [Wheaton: Tyndale House Publishers, 2001] 362 (ca 300). K. Treu, "Christliche Papyri 1940–1967," *APF* 19 (1969) 169–206, esp. 184 (III–IV C.E.).

⁸ Kraeling, "Two Selections," 168–169.

⁹ A complete summary of references may be found in K. Aland, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri I. Biblische Papyri* (PTS 18, Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1976) 280. A.C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933) 374. G. Maldfeld, "Die griechischen Handschriftenbruchstücke des Neuen Testaments auf Papyrus," *ZNW* 42 (1949) 228–253, esp. 250. For Hunger's date see K. Aland, "Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus," *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* (ANTF 2; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967) 91–136, esp. 105 n. 5, 125–26.

¹⁰ Aland, "Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus," 105. Their date is in the files on the papyrus at Yale (per a communication to the author from Prof. Stephen Emmel).

¹¹ Aland, *Repertorium*, 280.

¹² Welles, "P. Yale I 3," 16.

date to the second half of IV.¹³ P.W. Comfort and D.P. Barrett's assumption that diaeresis is rarely used after the third century (which appears over *eta*, *upsilon*, and *iota* for a total of six times in ℘⁵⁰) is false.¹⁴ IV C.E. is probably a safe estimate. Thomas J. Kraus points out to me, in a note,

Its palaeography is not that telling as it is with other fragments that are written in upright Biblical majuscules. However, the scribe's hand appears quite irregular, but is not really. The writing speed (see some ligatures of ει and αι, with μ and η, above all ου, the pointed α, the rounded ε with a projecting horizontal line) together with the (correct) use of trema/diaeresis and, above all, the use of striking *nomina sacra* (ΑΝΟΣ, ΘΣ, and now: ΙΑΗΜ and ΠΙΝΑ) prompt me to prefer a fourth century date (see also punctuation with high and low stop, semicolon).

Further: orthography (mistakes, corrections, and itacisms), the lack of a strict bilinear composition/layout of lines, irregular/heterodox line endings (and also sometimes beginnings; nevertheless, there is an occasional tendency to fill the lines with prolonged letters) and the swiftness of writing indicate that the manuscript might not have been written for a literary (liturgical) usage.

The question of dating is not absolutely central for this essay, but it is important to establish that the papyrus was probably written after the accession of Constantine. The value of the papyrus for text criticism is undeniable, but that is not the focus here.¹⁵

Is it possible to cast any light on the riddle of the text's original purpose or use? Kraeling noted that the document is complete in itself. The excerpts also do not correspond to any particular day in the lectionary.¹⁶ The difficulty with regard to the thesis that the texts are amulets is, Kraeling wrote, the "innocuousness of the passages excerpted."¹⁷ Rather they show how Christian "apostles," instructed by the divine, "attached themselves" to pagans. Κολλᾶσθαι (to attach or join) is the one word common to both

¹³ C. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period. A.D. 300–800* (BICS.S 47, London: University of London, 1987) 28–29 (Text 10b).

¹⁴ See the texts in Cavallo/Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, 30–31 (P.Oxy. XXVII 2459, Text 11a, second half of IV). Cf. also the use of diaeresis in R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri. Band II* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1970) 160 (P.Berol. 5003 from V C.E.). This text also has examples of the "two-stroked hooked epsilon" which Welles asserts is not used after the early fourth century ("P. Yale I 3," 16).

¹⁵ Cf. Welles, "P. Yale I 3," 17–18 and Kraeling, "P 50," 171–72. K. and B. Aland (*The Text of the New Testament. An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* [trans. E.F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids/Leiden: Brill Archive, 1987] 99, 106) assign it to a category of MSS "of a distinctive character with an independent text, usually important for establishing the original text, but particularly important for the history of the text".

¹⁶ Kraeling notes that 8:26–39 is from the fifth day of the third octave of Easter and 10:21–33 from the third day of the fourth octave of Easter ("P 50," 170) with reference to C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* I (3 vols.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900) 345.

¹⁷ By this term, Kraeling presumably means that the texts are not apotropaic.

texts. So \mathfrak{P}^{50} might have been a text for “missionary or homiletic purposes or both.” An individual was instructing “his parishioners on the character and scope of Christian mission.”¹⁸ Welles ends his investigation with the remark that neither passage from Acts is “notably important” for doctrine or devotion and neither is of a liturgical character. The scribe’s hand is not that of a “schoolboy”. He concludes, “It is mysterious.”¹⁹ The four folds, which would have resulted in a packet of about 3.5×9 cm, have led scholars such as Joseph van Haelst and Kurt Aland to accept the thesis that it was an amulet.²⁰ Stanley Porter classified \mathfrak{P}^{50} as a miniature codex and an amulet.²¹ Theodore de Bruyn has classified it, initially, as a possible amulet (i.e. that one of its uses could have been as an amulet).²² He now places it in his category of texts that are “doubtful” amulets. Michael J. Kruger, in an investigation of *P.Oxy.* V 840, is willing to follow van Haelst in the hypothesis that \mathfrak{P}^{50} was an amulet. Of 118 amulets he finds in van Haelst’s catalogue on some kind of material, 93 are on parchment or papyrus. Of those 93, only fifteen contain neither a psalm nor a prayer.²³ “External factors” such as folding could “indicate” that a text was an amulet, and Kruger

¹⁸ Kraeling (“P 50,” 171)—a position he developed in conversation with E.C. Caldwell. Comfort and Barrett agree with him (*Text*, 362). Cf. also the assumption by T.J. Kraus, “Amulette als wichtige Zeugnisse für das frühe Christentum—einige grundsätzliche Anmerkungen”, *ASE* 24 (2007) 423–435, esp. 429.

¹⁹ Welles, “P. Yale I 3,” 19. Treu (“Christliche Papyri,” 184) remarks that the goal of the text is unclear.

²⁰ Aland, *Repertorium*, 280. J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des Papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série “Papyrologie” 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976) 482. Van Haelst adds this reason: the text is discontinuous.

²¹ S.E. Porter, “Textual Criticism in the Light of Diverse Textual Evidence for the Greek New Testament: An Expanded Proposal,” in *New Testament Manuscripts. Their Texts and Their World* (TENT 2; ed. T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006) 305–337, esp. 319.

²² T. de Bruyn, “Christian Amulets with Biblical Inscriptions: A Catalogue in Progress,” a paper given at the XXV International Congress of Papyrology (July 29–August 4 2007); The University of Michigan. I am indebted to him for sharing the paper with me. He is preparing a full list of Christian amulets, cf. his article in the present volume (“Papyri, Parchments, Ostraca, and Tablets Written with Biblical Texts in Greek and Used as Amulets: A Preliminary List”).

²³ M.J. Kruger, “P. Oxy. 840: Amulet or Miniature Codex?,” *JTS* 53 (2002) 81–94, esp. 88. Van Haelst 3, 242, 245, 275, 341, 347, 359, 482 (\mathfrak{P}^{50}), 490, 532, 536, 558, 591, 613, 1138. Cf. also his review of amulets in idem, *The Gospel of the Savior. An Analysis of P.Oxy. 840 and its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 1; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005) 26–31. Thomas J. Kraus makes an important point about intentionality in the creation of texts. See idem, “P.Oxy. V 840—Amulet or Miniature Codex? Principal and Additional Remarks on Two Terms,” in: idem, *Ad Fontes: Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity—Selected Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) 47–67, esp. 59: “The original purpose of a fragment cannot always be determined, particularly as primarily a formal feature is set in opposition to a purpose [...] Moreover, a papyrus or parchment leaf written on for a specific purpose or occasion might have been used in a different way from what was originally intended.”

finds 21 in van Haelst.²⁴ It must be noted that Kruger omits two “amulets” in van Haelst’s index, where 120 instead of 118 are listed.²⁵ The exact number is not too important, as other Christian amulets have been discovered since, and van Haelst did not include some already known such as *P.Mich. inv.* 1559 (a Coptic amulet with the incipits of the Four Gospels and magical signs [recto; verso is blank] from the seventh or eighth century).²⁶ The text (ⲡ⁵⁰) is not included in the various collections of magical papyri.²⁷

This introduces the problem of the classification of genres in antiquity. Van Haelst, in his introduction, argues that the “magical” character of a text that is classified as an amulet cannot be established with certainty.²⁸ The specific differences (*differentia specifica*) that help indicate a document as a Christian amulet include several criteria that I have adopted from de Bruyn: 1. certain phrases that are often repeated in amulets, esoteric words, esoteric signs, schematic shapes, and short narratives; 2. Christian motifs such as *nomina sacra*, signs, letters, phrases, liturgical sequences, incipits of Gospels or Psalms, juxtapositions of biblical texts, confused biblical quotations, and texts from the scriptures that provide protection or benefit such as Ps 90 LXX or the Lord’s Prayer; 3. the material form of the inscription—on a single leaf of papyrus or parchment, or one side of a sheet of a codex, or an irregular sheet or fragment, or the use of a previously inscribed document; 4. the material form of the object—evidence that it was folded or rolled so as to be worn, holes that show it could have been strung with a cord, and traces that it was actually strung. Using these criteria de Bruyn has introduced a continuum for the classification of amulets: certain, probable, possible, and doubtful.²⁹ The definition of “magic” is contested, but David Aune’s will work as well as any for the purposes of this paper: “Magic is defined as that form of religious deviance whereby the individual or social goals are sought by means alternate to those normally sanctioned by the

²⁴ Kruger, “P. Oxy. 840,” 89. He omits van Haelst 482 (ⲡ⁵⁰) from his count of folded texts.

²⁵ Van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 414.

²⁶ *Editio princeps* by W.H. Worrell, *Coptic Texts in the University of Michigan Collection* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 46; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1942) no. 18 (= *P.Mich.Copt.* 18). Reedited by G.M. Browne, *Michigan Coptic Texts* (Papyrologica castroctaviana 7; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1979) no. 12.

²⁷ H.D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation. Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1986).

²⁸ Van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 4.

²⁹ De Bruyn, “Christian Amulets,” “Papyri, Parchments, Ostraca, and Tablets” (in the present volume) and a private communication. Cf. also W. Brashear, “The Greek Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994),” *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3380–3684, esp. 3429–3443.

dominant religious institution.”³⁰ The only characteristic of \P^{50} that indicates it might be an amulet, other than a discontinuous text, is the folding (criterion four). That the content is Christian is incontestable (criterion two).

Besides the folded Christian amulets contained in van Haelst’s catalog, there are certainly non-Christian amulets such as *P.Mich.inv.* 6666 (*SB* XVI 13019 = *PGM* 130) which appears to have been folded once down from the top and twice up from the bottom and may have been rolled and attached to the body.³¹ The Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at the University of Michigan owns a lead amulet still rolled around a string that would have been worn on a person’s wrist or ankle.³² There is a problem with this argument, however. Folds are neither a *necessary* nor a *sufficient* condition to indicate that a document was an amulet. They are obviously not a *necessary* condition, because many Christian amulets on papyri or parchment were not folded. In the case of “secular” texts, folds are not a *sufficient* condition that a document is an amulet. In one easily accessible database, the Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS), the author found 225 (give or take a few) small papyrological documents that had been folded.³³ I did not include complete codices in that number. Most of the texts are tax records, rental agreements, bills of sale, letters, and so forth. The common characteristic is the folding of one sort or another. It seems quite obvious that the bearers of the documents simply wanted to be able to carry them around, for whatever reason.

Several examples will clarify this perspective. *P.Wisc.* I 3 is a petition (257–259 C.E.) by an elderly man to be released from liturgical duties.³⁴ It measures 21 × 13.7 cm and has been folded five times vertically and one

³⁰ D.E. Aune, “Magic in Early Christianity,” *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980) 1507–1557, esp. 1515. Cf. the discussion in T. Wasserman, “ \P^{78} (*P.OXY.* XXXIV 2684): The Epistle of Jude on an Amulet?,” in *New Testament Manuscripts* [(ed. T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas)], 137–160, esp. 146–150. For a discussion of some of the Roman laws against magic (going back to the *Twelve Tables*) and the magical practices of some ancient Christians, see J.G. Cook, “In Defense of Ambiguity: Is There a Hidden Demon in Mark 1.29–31?,” *NTS* 43 (1997) 184–208, esp. 198–203. Jan Bremmer draws attention to the distinction between magic and “normative religious practice” in some ancient texts, although he argues that the opposition of “religion” and “magic” involves the use of two concepts from late to post-mediaeval Europe. Of course, the Greek and Romans had terms for magic, but they were far from univocal. Cf. idem, “The Birth of the term ‘Magic’,” *ZPE* 126 (1999) 1–12, esp. 9–12. His fine article would benefit by the use of the concepts “onomasiology” (different words for the same concepts) and “semasiology” (the many meanings/concepts associated with one word) from semantic theory.

³¹ R.W. Daniel, “*P. Mich. Inv.* 6666: Magic,” *ZPE* 50 (1983) 147–154. Cf. also the Louvain Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) 5341 (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>).

³² Kelsey Museum 24255. It is still unfolded (and unread).

³³ <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis> (accessed Nov. 21, 2007).

³⁴ N. Lewis, “*Noēmata legontos* 7:4,” *BASP* 7 (1970) 109–115. This document’s APIS number is 5379 (= *P.Wisc.inv.* 57).

time horizontally. The eighty-three year old man needed to carry the document. *P. Wisc.* II 87 (inv. 59 = SB III 6826) is a *libellus*, a genre long familiar to scholars of early Christianity. On June 4, 250 C.E. an eleven-year old boy, Aurelius Aunes, requested certification that he had sacrificed to the gods in the presence of the officials, poured libations, and tasted the sacrificial offerings.³⁵ The text measures 21 × 7.8 cm and had one vertical and one horizontal fold. Apparently Aurelius needed to carry the *libellus* with him at some point during the Decian persecution. Another text (*P. Wisc.* I 24) from II or III C.E. is an order of arrest by a procurator named Serapion. He demands that the authorities of Philadelphia hand over six individuals to a soldier whom Serapion has sent for the purpose. The text is 7.8 × 23.9 cm, and there are one vertical fold and three horizontal folds.³⁶ Perhaps the soldier carried it.

Clearly the mere fact that ℘⁵⁰ was folded does not prove that it was an amulet. The discontinuity of the text in the document is simply too vague a criterion to prove much.³⁷ One is left with the impression that some scholars after Kraeling have used the category “amulet” as a sort of panacea, when left in a quandary over what to do with ℘⁵⁰. There is a problem in the classification of MSS, specifically for NT text criticism, when deciding which texts to add to the Gregory-Aland list and which to leave off. It becomes rather easy to dismiss a text as an “amulet” for example.³⁸

There are many other possibilities for the use of short Christian texts on papyri in antiquity as a glance at van Haelst’s index and investigations such as that of Colin H. Roberts indicate.³⁹ A note for a preacher or a personal note are certainly possibilities.⁴⁰ Roberts discusses a longer text that may be the earliest MS evidence for the mission to the Copts from the late third century. It is a Greek-Coptic glossary of Hosea and Amos, and may be for

³⁵ Cf. J.R. Knipfing, “The Libelli of the Decian Persecution,” *HThR* 16 (1923) 345–390, esp. 387–88. This text is APIS 5451. Cf. the note on *libelli* in J.B. Rives, “The Decrees of Decius and the Religion of the Empire,” *JRS* 89 (1999) 133–54, esp. 136 (three more that should be added to Knipfing’s group of forty-one). G.H.R. Horsley lists forty five (*New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity. A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1977* [North Ryde, N.S.W.: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1982] 181). Cf. Horsley, *ibid.* pp. 181–185 for a discussion of *P. Wisc.* II 87 by W.L. Leadbetter.

³⁶ *P. Wisc.* I 24 (inv. 48) is APIS 5400.

³⁷ Van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 482 and Aland, *Repertorium*, 280 each include “discontinuity” as an argument.

³⁸ Cf. again Porter, “Textual Criticism,” 305–37.

³⁹ C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (Schweich Lectures 1977; London: British Academy, 1979).

⁴⁰ Cf. van Haelst 1175, Roberts, *Manuscript*, 9 (written in a “hasty hand”). Under “homélie” (homily), for example, van Haelst (*ibid.*, p. 416) lists 23 possibilities, and does not include 1175 in the index. Others identified as possible homilies appear in his chapter on “unidentified texts” that are not in the index (pp. 337–358).

a teacher and his “class of catechumens” either in a monastery or as Roberts prefers a church school.⁴¹ Eusebius relates the story of the catechetical school in Alexandria, from which Pantaenus, its one-time leader, left to go to India as a herald of the gospel.⁴² Although this was the period of 180 C.E., there were undoubtedly many other catechetical schools in Egypt—including the time of the production of \mathfrak{P}^{50} .

From Christian tradition one can glean much about the possible use of the two narratives from Acts. The *Chronicon Paschale* (VII C.E.), for example, for the second year of the ascension of Christ, includes the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch as the first fruits of the gentiles. In the same year, Cornelius and his household, through a “divine epiphany” were the first of the Gentiles in Palestine to receive the faith.⁴³ Symeon Logothetes (X C.E.) also identifies the eunuch as the first Gentile to be baptized. Cornelius was the first Gentile through Peter to come “through faith.”⁴⁴ Although these chroniclers are much later than \mathfrak{P}^{50} the clue is that the texts from Acts are by content “missionary.”

It is probably not an accident that a homilist like Chrysostom makes frequent use of both narratives, in various contexts. In a discussion of the centurion, Chrysostom notes that God is not a “respector of persons.” God, as in the case of the Centurion, also did not overlook the eunuch.⁴⁵ In the same homily Chrysostom emphasizes the humility and the divine intervention present in the two stories.⁴⁶ Chrysostom, in an exposition of Ps 43, illustrates God’s willingness to teach clear truths to those who live an upright and faithful life by appealing to the examples of Cornelius whom God called to the knowledge of the mysteries and that of the eunuch to whom he gave knowledge.⁴⁷ He uses the two narratives in an argument against waiting until Easter for baptism ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\alpha$).⁴⁸ Both the eunuch and the Centurion were, he emphasizes, not Jewish. Both, however, were worthy and godly, and much zeal was shown on their account.⁴⁹ To show the

⁴¹ Roberts, *Manuscript*, 66. Cf. H.I. Bell and H. Thompson, “A Greek-Coptic Glossary to Hosea and Amos,” *JEA* 11 (1925) 241–246.

⁴² Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.10.1–4. Cf. Roberts, *Manuscript*, 54.

⁴³ *Chronicon Paschale* (CSHB I, 430,6–13 Dindorf). The first ascension is in the twentieth year of Tiberius according to the chronicle (423,1–9 Dindorf).

⁴⁴ Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* (CSHB; *Leonis grammatici Chronographia*; 60,2–8 Dindorf). Georgius Syncellus, *Ecloga chronographica* (BiTeub; 403,2–3 Mosshamer) also identifies the eunuch as the first Gentile convert.

⁴⁵ Chrysostom, *Hom.* 23.1 in *Acta* (PG 60, 178).

⁴⁶ Chrysostom, *Hom.* 23.2 in *Acta* (PG 60, 179).

⁴⁷ Chrysostom, *In Ps.* 43 (PG 55, 174).

⁴⁸ Chrysostom, *Hom.* 1.8 in *Acta* (PG 60, 24).

⁴⁹ Chrysostom, *Hom.* 22.1 in *Acta* (PG 60, 171). He also emphasizes the appearance of two angels in human form to Philip and Cornelius in *Hom.* 34.4 in *Acta* (PG 60, 249).

variety of conditions of those who received the faith, Chrysostom uses the example of Cornelius in military service and the eunuch who was in charge of a household.⁵⁰ Chrysostom uses Peter's release from prison in Acts 12 through the agency of an angel, an angel's message to Philip in Acts 8:32, and the angel sent to Cornelius as examples of the ways angels "help us" in a comment on Heb 1:14.⁵¹

Other writers from the Greek tradition combined the two stories. In an ancient hymn the author pens this line, in a section discussing God's choice of people for various tasks: "Jesus sent Philip to the eunuch and Cephas to Cornelius."⁵² Theodoret uses the example of the eunuch, Cornelius, and "all the nations" to illustrate the meaning of Ps 127:4.⁵³ Although he does not mention both texts, Asterius Sophista, in a homily on Ps 8, uses the narrative of Cornelius' falling before Peter's feet to visualize the apostles as those who tread the winepress. Those who come to faith in Christ are like grapes beneath the apostles' feet.⁵⁴

The stories could be used in Latin Christianity in the same variety of ways as in Greek Christianity. Augustine argues that Abraham and Cornelius were both justified by faith, but did not accept the same sacrament (baptism). But Cornelius and the eunuch, whom Philip baptized on a journey, were one in faith and accepted one sacrament.⁵⁵ Bede introduces into his explanation of Cant. 3:1–3 Cornelius' and the eunuch's search for God. Philip opened the light of the gospel to the eunuch and Peter was the vessel of heavenly grace for the centurion and his household.⁵⁶ For Gregory the Great, the Spirit of God directed Philip to the eunuch and Peter to the centurion in an invisible fire and without voice.⁵⁷ The natural association of the two examples continues on into the middle ages.⁵⁸

Can one place ℘⁵⁰ in the context of some kind of Christian mission? Both texts certainly, according to the evidence of the patristic authors, were used in homilies and other texts that emphasized conversion,

According to Chrysostom it was easier to be persuaded by an angel in human form than by one in divine form.

⁵⁰ Chrysostom, *Hom. 12.3 in Phil.* (PG 62, 274).

⁵¹ Chrysostom, *Hom. 3.3 in ep.ad Heb.* (PG 63, 30).

⁵² [Romanus Melodus], *Cantica dubia* 69 strophe 7 (65,1–2 MAAS/TRYPANIS).

⁵³ Theodoret, *In Ps. 127:4* (PG 80, 1896).

⁵⁴ Ast. Soph., *Comm in Ps. 8 Hom.* 15.11 (SOSup 16, 112,26–29 Richard).

⁵⁵ Augustine, *Ep. ad cath.* 21.58 (CSEL 52, 306,22–27 Petschenig). Cf. CPL 334.

⁵⁶ Bede, *Cant. 2.3* (CChrSL 119B, 231,30–39 Hurst). Cf. CPL 1353.

⁵⁷ Gregory the Great, *Mor.* 28.1.2 (CChrSL 143B, 1396,39–51 Adriaen). See CPL 1708.

⁵⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux mentions the mission of Peter to Cornelius and Philip to the eunuch to illustrate "how shall they believe without a proclaimer?" in *De consideratione* 3.4 (*Bernardi Opera* III, 433,23–25 Leclecq/Rochais). Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.* 3.68.3 discusses the "immediate" baptism of both individuals without a long period of instruction.

evangelism, baptism, and so forth. Eusebius describes people who followed the Apostles, the next generation, and “grew the proclamation even more, and sowed the saving seeds of the kingdom of heaven through the breadth of the entire world.”⁵⁹ Before his description of the mission of Pantaenus, Eusebius claims there were many “evangelists of the word” who adopted an inspired apostolic zeal for the growth and up-building of the divine word.⁶⁰ Certainly the church in Egypt grew quickly in the fourth century if onomastics may be used as a guide.⁶¹ Paganism remained lively, however, and there remained challenges for Christian evangelists, teachers, and preachers as the research of Ramsay MacMullen has so richly shown.⁶² Although Robin Lane Fox’s point is well taken that there are no records of formal open air preaching after the stories in Acts, undoubtedly there was preaching in Christian services, and Christian travelers probably taught individuals and small groups.⁶³ It is possible that an epitaph, found in the church of Saint-Just in Lyon, and dating perhaps to III or IV C.E., describes the life of such a trader (perhaps teacher)—Christian or pagan—from Laodicea in Syria.

He was good and just, a man beloved by all. When he spoke to Kelts, persuasion flowed from his tongue. He went about among diverse nations, and knew many peoples; and he practised a virtuous life among them.

χρηστὸς καὶ δίκαιος, πᾶσιν πεφιλημένος ἀνὴρ, / οὐ Κελτοῖς λαλέοντος ἀπὸ
γλώσσης ῥέε πειθῶ· / ποικίλα μὲν περιῆλθεν ἔθνη, πολλοὺς δέ <τε> δήμους
/ ἔγνω καὶ ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν ἥσκησεν ἐ<ν> αὐτοῖς.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Eusebius, *H.E.* 3.37.1... αὖξοντες εἰς πλεον τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ τὰ σωτήρια σπέρματα τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἀνὰ πᾶσαν εἰς πλάτος ἐπισπείροντες τὴν οἰκουμένην.

⁶⁰ Eusebius, *H.E.* 5.10.2.

⁶¹ R.S. Bagnall, “Religious Conversion and Onomastic Change in Early Byzantine Egypt,” *BASP* 19 (1982) 105–124; E. Wipszycka, “La valeur de l’onomastique pour l’histoire de la christianisation. A propos d’une étude de R.S. Bagnall,” *ZPE* 62 (1986) 173–181; R.S. Bagnall, “Conversion and Onomastics: A Reply,” *ZPE* 69 (1987) 243–250. Cf. E.J. Epp, “The Jews in Oxyrhynchus,” in *New Testament Manuscripts* [(ed. T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas)], 13–52, esp. 18, 48 (Oxyrhynchus 90% Christian by the fourth century).

⁶² R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire. A.D. 100–400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) esp. 74–85. He believes the empire was predominantly non-Christian in 400 (*ibid.*, 83).

⁶³ R.L. Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York: Harpercollins, 1986) 284.

⁶⁴ Trans. and text from G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity. A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1976* (North Ryde, N.S.W.: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1981) 23 (p. 68). In Plato, *Gorgias* 453a the same word for persuasion (πειθῶ) appears in Gorgias’ definition of rhetoric, the “creator of persuasion” (πειθοῦς δημιουργός). A fully pagan “missionary” text is IG X/2 255 (I C.E., found in Thessalonike; republished with translation and commentary by Horsley (*ibid.*, 6 [pp. 29–32])). In it Sarapis stands by (ἐπιστάντω) Xenainetos while he was asleep and instructs him, when he arrives at Opous, to tell Eurynomos (a political enemy) that he should receive (ὑποδέξασθαι) the god and his sister Isis. Horsley (*ibid.*, p. 31) notes that “implicit” in this text is the conversion of Eurynomos to the cult of Sarapis. A Serapeion was built in Thessalonike in III B.C.E.

ℙ⁵⁰ would fit quite naturally into this sort of context. Whether as a preacher's notes for use in a worship service or as a Christian traveler's notes for use in teaching, one can place ℙ⁵⁰ in a setting in life that coheres quite well with the usage of the texts in the patristic writers (and even the chroniclers). There is consequently little need to classify ℙ⁵⁰ as an amulet.

Transcription

In the transcription below, single brackets ([]) indicate a restoration of the text. Double brackets ([[]) indicate an erasure. Sublinear dots indicate an incomplete or dubious letter. Bold v's indicate blank spaces in the text. The apostrophes (') in 2.6 and 2.11 imitate marks in the text.

Page 1 ↓ (Recto)		Acts
	[αγγελος δε κϗ̄ ελ]αλησε[v] προς φι	8:26 [an angel of the Lord] spoke to Phillip saying, rise
	[λ]ιπρον λεγων αναστας πορ	go south
	ευθητι κατα μεσημβριαν	on the road that goes down
5	επι την οδον την καταβαινου	from Jerusalem to Gaza;
	σαν απο ιλημ εις γαζαν·	8:27 it is deserted. And getting up
	αυτη εστιν ερημος και ανασ	he went; and now a man,
	τας επορευθη· και ιδου αν	an Ethiopian eunuch, a court
	ηρ α[ιθι]οψ [ε]υ[γ]ουχος δυνα[σ]	official of the Candace, the queen
	της κανδακης βασιλισσης	of the Ethiopians, who was over
10	αιθιοπων ρς ην επι πα	all her treasury,
	σης της γαζης αυτης	who had come to worship
	ος εληλυθει προσκυνη	8:28 in Jerusalem—he was
	σων εις ιλημ· ουτος υποσ	returning, sitting
	τρεφων καθημενος	on his chariot
15	επι του αρματος αυτου	and was reading the
	και ανεγινωσκον τον·	8:29 prophet Isaiah.
	προφητην η[σ]αιαν· ειπεν	And the spirit said to Philip,
	δε το πν̄α τω φ[ι]λιπω·	go and join
	προσελθε κα[ι] κολληθη	this chariot.
20	τι τω αρματι τουτω·	8:30 And arriving, Phillip
	προσελθων δε ο φιλιπ	heard him
	πος ηκουσεν αυτου ανα	
Page 2 ↓ (Verso)		
	γινωσκοντος η[σ]αιαν τον]	reading Isaiah the
	προφητην και ειπ[ε]ν τω	prophet, and he said to the
	ευνουχω αρα γινωσκεις	8:31 eunuch, do you understand
	α αναγινωσκεις ο δε ει	what you are reading? He
5	πεν· πως γαρ αν δυναμην	said, how could I
	ξαν μη τις οδηγησει με'	unless someone should guide me?
	παρεκαλεσεν τε τον φιλιπ	He urged Phillip
	πον αναβαντα καθισαι	to get up and sit

10 συν αυτω· η δε περιοχη
 της γραφης ηγ ανεγινωσ
 κεν ην αυτη· ως προβα
 τον επι σφαγην ηχθη
 και ως αμνος εναντιον
 15 το[[ν]]υ κειραντος αυτον
 αφωνος
 ο δε πετρος ηγειρεν
 αυτον λεγων ανασ
 τηθι και εγω αυτος
 20 ανως ειμι και συνο
 μιλων αυτω εισηλ
 θον και ευρισκε[ι] συν

Page 3 ↓ (Recto)

5 ελη[λυ]θοντας πολλους
 εφη τε προς αυτους
 υμεις επιστασθε ως
 αθεμιτον εστιν ανδρι
 10 ιουδαιω κολλασθαι η προ[σ]
 ερχεσθαι ανδρι αλλοφυ
 λω· κ[α]μοι [ο] θς εδιξεν
 μηδεγα κοινον η ακαθαρ
 τον λεγει[ν α]ν̄ον ν̄ διο νν
 15 και αναγτριητως
 ηλθον μεταπεμφθεις
 πυνθανομα[ι] ουν τινη [[ουν]]
 λογω μετεπεμψασθε
 με; ο δε κορνηλιος εφη
 20 οπο τεταρτης ημερας
 μεχρι ταυτης της ωρας
 ημην νηστ[ε]ων και
 την εννατην προσευ
 χομε[ν]ος εγ [τ]ω οικω μου
 και ιδ[ο]ν ανηρ εστη ενωπι
 ο[ν] μου εγ αισθητι

Page 4 ↓ (Verso)

5 λαμπρα και φησι[ν] κορ
 νηλιε εισηκουσθη σου
 η προσευχη και αι ελε
 ημοσυνη σου εμνησ
 5 θησαν [[του θυ]]⁶⁵ ενωπιον
 του θυ⁶⁶

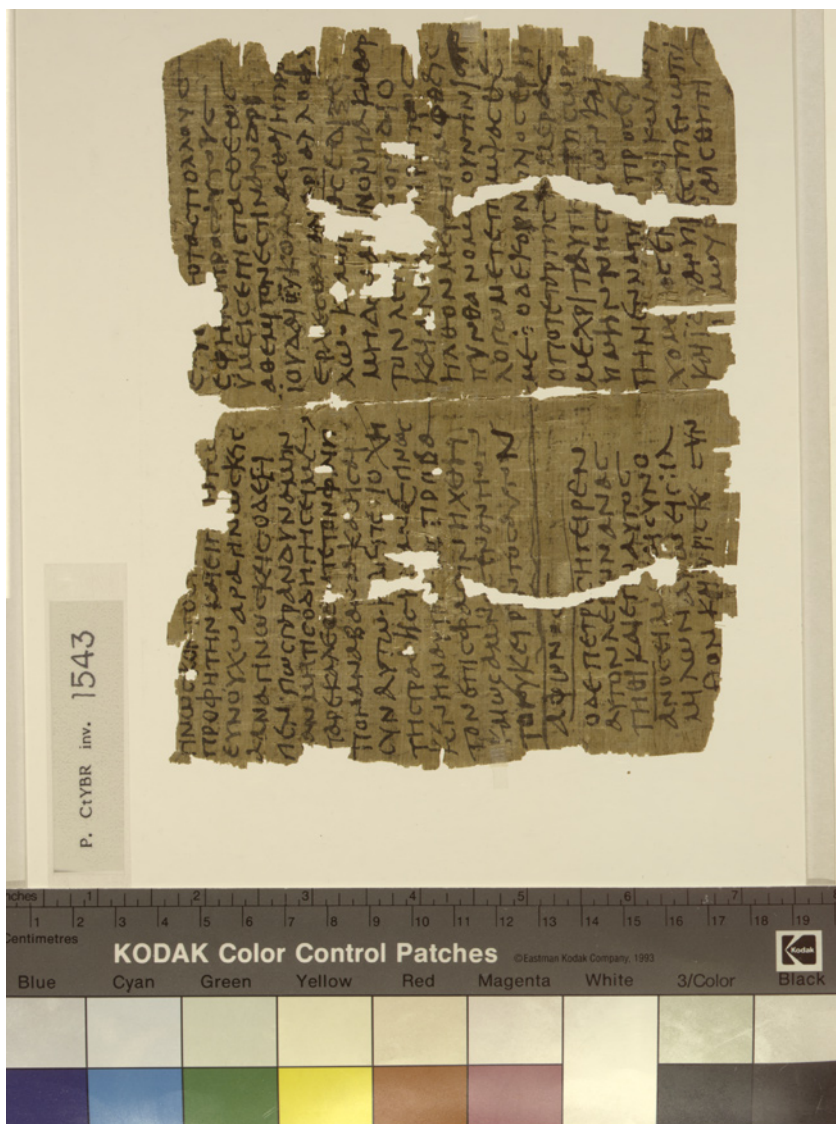
8:32 with him. The portion of
 scripture which he was reading
 was this: As a sheep
 he was led to the slaughter
 and like a lamb before
 the one shearing it
 he was silent
 10:26 But Peter raised
 him saying, rise
 I also
 10:27 am a human, and talking
 with him he went
 in and found

10:28 many who had come together;
 and he said to them,
 you know that
 it is unlawful for a
 Jewish man to associate with or
 approach a man who is a Gentile,
 but God has shown me
 not to call any person impure
 or unclean. Therefore,
 10:29 without objection,
 when sent for I have come;
 I want to inquire, then, for
 what reason have you sent for
 10:30 me? And Cornelius said,
 since four days ago
 until this hour
 I have been fasting, and
 during the ninth hour I was
 praying in my house and
 behold a man stood before
 me in bright clothing

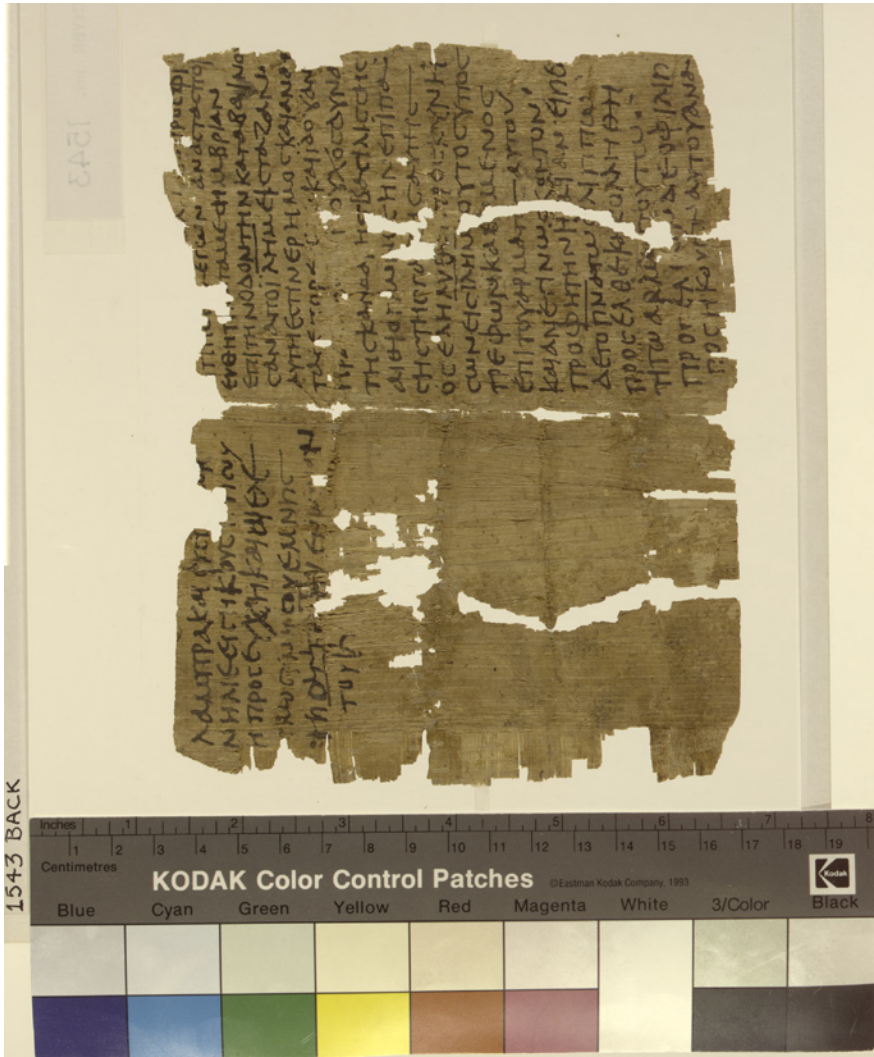
10:31 and he said, Cornelius
 your prayer has been heard,
 and your alms
 have been remembered
 before God

⁶⁵ The scribe put a line through these letters to indicate the deletion.

⁶⁶ In the photograph there is a supralinear line over του θυ in line 4.6.



Ps⁵⁰: Pages Two and Three

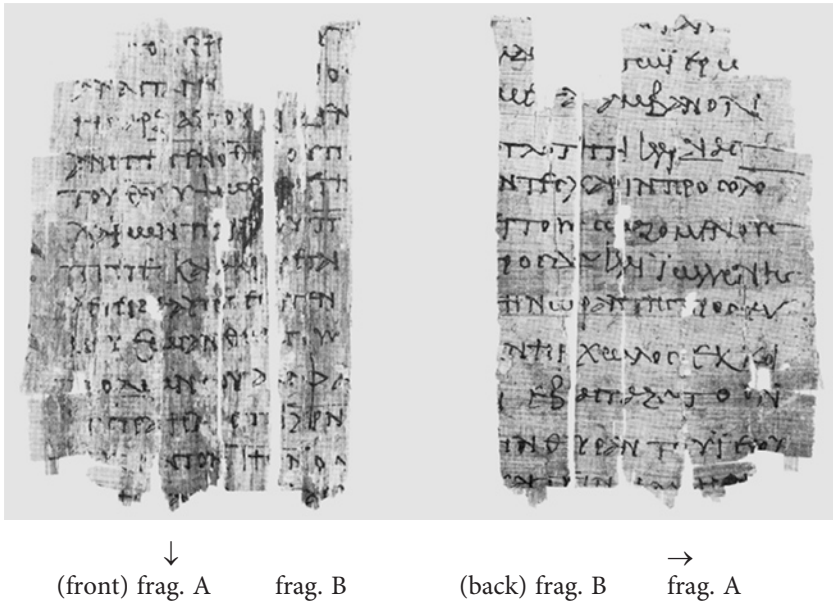


CHAPTER SIX

THE REUSE OF CHRISTIAN TEXTS:

P.MACQUARIE INV. 360 + P.MIL.VOGL.INV. 1224 (P⁹¹) AND
P.OXY. X 1229 (P²³)

Don Barker



P⁹¹ consists of two fragments from a codex of Acts, frag. A (*P.Mil.Vogl. inv.1224*) 4.7 × 9.6 cm 2:30–37, 2:46–3:2; frag. B (*P.Macquarie inv. 360*) 1.8 × 9.6 cm.¹ The two fragments fit side by side without hardly any loss of letters (overall dimensions, 9.6 × 6.5 cm). Both fragments have portions of Acts 2:30–37 and 2:46–3:2. Inner margins survive, but the original width is uncertain. Written in a hurried block script that is influenced by cursive

¹ Frag. A, ed.pr., C. Gallazzi “P.Mil. Vogl. Inv.1224: Novum Testamentum, ACT. 2,30–37 e 2,46–3,2,” *BASP* 19 (1982) 39–43. Frag. B, ed.pr., S.R. Pickering, *An Edition of Some Unpublished Papyri* (Ph.D Thesis; Macquarie University, Sydney, 1985) 46–121; idem, “P. Macquarie inv. 360 (+ P.Mil. Vogl. Inv. 1224) Acta Apostolorum 2.30–37, 2. 46–3.2,” *ZPE* 65 (1986) 76 and plate I b,c.

formations. Interlinear width varies as well as letter heights. Overall manuscript style is semi informal. P⁹¹ has been dated to the early third Century by Pickering.²

P.Macquarie inv. 360 + P.Mil.Vogl.inv. 1224 (shaded portion)

↓ (front)

[επ]ι τον θρο[νον α]υτου [προιδων ελαλησεν περι της]
 αναστασεω[ς οτ]ι ου[τε εγκατελειφθη εις αδην ουτε]
 η σαρξ αυτου ειδεν [διαφθοραν τουτον τον ιην]
 ανεστησεν ο θς ου πα[ντες ημεις μαρτυρες τη δεξια ουν]
 του θυ υψωθεις τη[ν τε επαγγελιαν του πνς του αγιου]
 λαβων παρα του πρ[ξ εξεχεεν τουτο ο υμεις και βλε-]
 πετε και ακουεται [ου γαρ δδ ανεβη εις τους ουνους]
 λεγει δε αυτος αυτος ειπεν [ο κς τω κω μου καθου εκ δεξιων]
 μου εως αν θω τους [εχθρους σου υποποδιον των]
 ποδων σου ασφα[λως ουν γινωσκετω πας οικος]
 ιστραηλ οτι χρν [αυτον και κν εποιησεν ο θς]
 τ[ο]υτον τον ιην ον [υμεις εσ*ωσατε ακουσαντες δε κατε-]
 [νυγ]η[σ]αγ [τ]ην καρδ[ιαν ειπον τε προς τον Πετρον]

→ (back)

[πασιν καθοτι αν τις χρειαν ειχεν]. η]μεραν τ[ε]
 [προσκαρτερουντες ομοθυμ]αδο[ν εν] τω ιερω
 [κλωντες τε κατ οικον αρτον] μεταλαμβανον
 [τροφης εν αγαλλιασει και αφελ]οτ{λοτ}ητι καρδιας
 [αινουντες τον θν και εχο]ντες χαριν προς ολο(v)
 [τον λαον ο δε κς προσετιθ]ει τους σωζομενους
 [καθ ημεραν επι το αυτο Πε]τρος δε και Ιωαννης
 [ανεβαινον εις το ιερον επι] την ωραν της προσσευ-
 [χης την ενατην και τις] ανηρ χωλος εκ κοι-
 [λιας μητρος αυτου υπαρχω]ν εβασταζετο ον
 [ετιθουν καθ ημεραν προς τ]ην θυραν του ιερου
 [την λεγομενην Ωραιαν το]ν αιτειν ελεημ[ο-

Both *P.Macquarie inv. 360* and *P.Mil.Vogl.inv. 1224* were bought from the same dealer in Vienna and were included with a number of papyrus manuscripts that came from the Aspidas archive, which can be dated to the 330's

² Pickering, *An Edition*, 68, 69.

and 340's AD.³ It is uncertain, however, if the Acts fragments are to be included in this archive.

Fold Marks

It may be observed that *P. Macquarie inv. 360* + *P. Mil. Vogl. inv. 1224* (hereafter referred to as \mathfrak{P}^{91}) show signs of having been folded. Four vertical fold marks can be detected. The vertical folding explains why *P. Macquarie inv. 360* broke away from *P. Mil. Vogl. inv. 1224*. It can be observed that on the back of \mathfrak{P}^{91} there is a clean tear along the bottom of the fragments. This suggests the likely possibility that the leaf has been folded horizontally along that fracture line. The upper edge of the fragment also shows a suggestion of breakage because of folding, note that a straight line can be drawn from the highest point of the top of fragment B to the highest point of the top of fragment A and that both fragments are of the same height. Breakage along these horizontal folds would explain why the upper and lower margins are lost. In folding or rolling a written text, some sort of intention is always involved. Some of those intentions for folding/rolling a written text are: to protect the contents from wear; to fit it in some sort of enclosure; to make it easier to carry; to hide the contents. The intention may perhaps be clarified from the nature of the text and the manner of folding/rolling. Letters written on papyri were folded presumably to protect the contents and to make it easier to carry. Contracts were sometimes rolled or folded to easily store them and or to protect the contents. Amulets were folded into a manageable size to fit into carrying cases.⁴ The reason for the folding of the leaf from which \mathfrak{P}^{91} has broken away, may be determined by the position of the fragments on the leaf and its content. To determine the original position of the fragments on the leaf, it is necessary to calculate the dimensions of the leaf.

The Dimensions of the Leaf

The text of NA26/27 can be used as a basis for the calculations in reconstructing the page, because of the near conformity to it of the readings on the papyrus. It is assumed that the three words in 2.28 and in 2.39 were

³ S.R. Pickering and D.C. Barker, *A Handbook to the Macquarie Papyri* (Sydney: Macquarie University, The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, 1988) 35.

⁴ For more details on amulets and how to deal with them see T. de Bruyn, "Papyri, Parchments, Ostraca, and Tablets Written with Biblical Texts in Greek and Used as Amulets: A Preliminary List" (in the present volume).

abbreviated ($\overline{\iota\eta\zeta}$, $\overline{\chi\rho\zeta}$, $\overline{\pi\nu\zeta}$). It is also assumed that $\phi\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ in 2.38 is to be included (the word is enclosed within square brackets in NA27).

The Written Area

From the surviving fragments it can be calculated that there is an average of 37 letters per line. Using NA27 there are 721 letters between the last word on the front of the leaf and the first word on the back of the leaf. Applying the average number of letters per line, approximately 20 lines are arrived at between the end of the front fragments and the beginning of the text on the back fragments. If the approximate 12 lines that the fragments preserve are added, a figure of approximately 32 lines per page is arrived at. The number of lines per page (32) can be converted to approximate heights for the written area. If the average height for ten lines of the fragment (c. 7.5 cm) is multiplied by the number of ten lines per page (c. 3.2), a height of around 24 cm is obtained.

From the fragments it can be determined that there is an average of 14.4 letters per line, occupying a line width of approximately 5.5 cm. Each letter therefore occupies an average width of approximately 0.38 cm. The average letters missing per line length is 23.6, which calculates to a line length of 8.9 cm (0.38×23.6). If the line length of the fragments is added to this figure, the approximate breadth of the written area is 14.4 cm, making a written area for the leaf of around 14.4×24 cm (Pickering 14×25 cm, Gallazzi $16 \times 23/24$ cm).

The Page Size

The sizes of the margins are difficult to calculate. From Table 16 of Turner's *Typology* there are thirteen codices that can be used which have dimensions that approximate the written area of *P. Macquarie inv.* 360 + *P. Mil. Vogl. inv.* 1224 (c. 14.4×25 cm) and also have calculated page dimensions.⁵ Table 1 represents codices from Turner's table that have a similar written area. From this table we may observe that the combined upper/lower margins range from 2.5–11.8 cm and the combined side margins range from 2–11 cm. Because of the wide fluctuations in margin widths, it makes it virtually impossible to calculate margin widths from any comparative data. Gallazzi guessed that the margin widths were at least 4 cm,⁶ whilst Pickering added an arbitrary 5 cm for the margins.⁷ If the assumption is correct,

⁵ E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977) 101–185.

⁶ Gallazzi, "P. Mil. Vogl. Inv. 1224," 39.

⁷ Pickering, *An Edition*, 62.

that the surviving fragments represent approximately a third of the height of the original sheet, we can calculate (that) the approximate height of the page as being around 28.8 cm. This would make the combined upper and lower margin as being $[(9.6 \times 3) - 24 = 4.8 \text{ cm}]$, which is close to the combined upper and lower margins of Turner's Lit.8 (V). As the lower margin is normally greater than the upper one (Turner offers the rule of thumb of 3:2 as the proportion of the lower to upper),⁸ we arrive at an upper margin of about 1.9 cm and a lower margin of 2.9 cm. In regard to the side margins, it may be observed that the original inner margin was greater than 1.0 cm. As there appears to be no indication of holes for binding, perhaps we may add another 0.5 cm to the remaining 1.0 cm, making a width of 17.4 cm, giving a page size of c. 17.4×28.8 . If this were the original size of the page, it would place it into Turner's group 5 (18×30). Caution, however, must be exercised in doing so, because of the uncertainty especially of margin widths.

Table 1

Turner no.	Content	Reference	Page Dimensions B × H cm	Written Area Dimensions B × H cm	Combined Side Margins	Combined Upper/Lower Margin cm	Date	Lines
10	Aristophanes	Pack ² 139	25 × 37/36	14 × 26	11	10/11	v or vi	32–43
27	Aristotle	Pack ² 158	16.6 × 31	14.3 × 25.5	2.3	5.5	vi–vii	42?
34	Callimachus	Pack ² 215	18/19 × 30	12/13 × 26	6	4	iv/v	40/41
129	Homer	Pack ² 802	17 × 24.5	14 × 22	3	2.5	iii	33
151	Homer	Pack ² 917	15 × 29	13 × 25.8	2	3.2	iii	59
161	Homer	Pack ² 948	18.5 × 31.5	14 × 25	4.5	8.5	v or vi	33–40
170	Homer	Pack ² 988	23.5 × 32	14.5 × 26	9	6	v–vi	36–44
324	Pastoral	Pack ² 1858	20 × 33.5	16 × 25	4	8.5	ii–iii	48,49
409	Aristotelian	Pack ² 2565	20 × 30	14 × 25	6	6	vi/viii	33
481	Index to Codex Iust	Pack ² 2969	22.4 × 34.3	14.3 × 22.5	8.1	11.8	vi	30
537	Ignatius of Antioch	Pack ² 43	19.5 × 31	15 × 23.5	4.5	7.5	v	28, 29
Lit. 8	Prayers	<i>P.Berol.</i> 13415	16 × 28	14 × 23	2	5	v	36
P74	Acts+ Catholic Ep.	<i>P.Bodmer</i> 17	19 × 31	13/14.5 × 25/26	6/5	6/5	vi or vii	31–35

⁸ Turner, *The Typology*, 25.

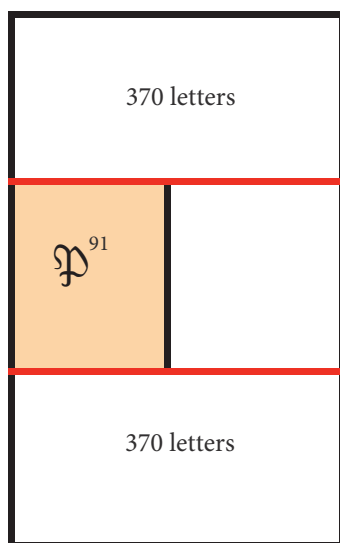


Diagram 1: Location of Fragments on the Leaf

The Original Position of the Fragments

We may observe that from the fold marks and the partial survival of the inner margins, the surviving fragments are most likely to be located somewhere in the inner body of the leaf. The approximate position of the leaf may be arrived at as follows. As \mathfrak{P}^{91} represents approximately a third of the lines per page and has no surviving upper and lower margins and seems to show signs of horizontal folding, it is most likely to have come from the inner middle of the page.⁹ If this is the case, there are on each page approximately 10 lines before the first line of the fragment and approximately 10 lines following the last line of \mathfrak{P}^{91} allowing for c. 370 letters for each ten lines of missing text.

The front of \mathfrak{P}^{91} preserves Acts 2:30–37, which is a portion of Peter’s speech on the day of Pentecost following the pouring out of the Holy Spirit on the apostles. If the fragment represents the inner middle of the leaf, the front page would have begun midway through the quoted Ps 16, beginning perhaps with $\sigma\rho\xi$ in verse 26. Significantly, the back of \mathfrak{P}^{91} preserves Acts 2:46–3:2, a section from the beginning of the episode of the healing in the name of Jesus of the lame man at the door of the temple. If the calculations are correct and there is space in the missing lower por-

⁹ See Diagram 1.

tion of the page for c. 370 letters, the back of the leaf would have included the actual healing of the lame man in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth. This may explain why the leaf was folded and kept, as it was reused for the purpose of healing.¹⁰ Whether it was considered as having amuletic powers is difficult to determine. Could the folded leaf have been used for consolation or as a reminder that in the name of Jesus of Nazareth healing was accomplished, or even as a prayer for healing? Perhaps an understanding of the attitude of ancient people towards the written word may help in this regard. H. Gamble makes the observation that the attribution of power to written words was not only held by the general Christian populace, but also by leading Church figures such as Origen, John Chrysostom and Augustine.¹¹ Augustine considered it permissible for a person with a headache to sleep with a copy of the Gospel of John under the sufferer's pillow.¹² If this is the case, it would seem more likely that the page containing P^{91} may have been kept as an amulet.¹³

Amulets were used in antiquity in the belief that the texts that are inscribed on them are charged with supernatural powers, with the ability to protect and/or to heal when worn close to the body or in close proximity. Egyptians, Greeks and Romans held to this opinion, which combined in Hellenistic Egypt into a syncretistic amalgam of Egyptian and Greek deities called upon for protection and healing.¹⁴ The ancient Greeks wore small amulets in pouches around their neck and inscribed brief amuletic texts on iron *lamellae*.¹⁵ Both Judaism and Christianity included adherents who used amulets as a means of achieving the end for which the amulet was created. It is claimed that the evidence for Jewish amulet¹⁶ use can be traced back to at least the seventh and sixth centuries BC with the discovery of two small silver *lamellae* measuring 9.7×2.7 cm and 3.9×1.1 cm, which (it is thought,) were probably suspended around the neck. The text which

¹⁰ See Diagram 2.

¹¹ H.Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) 238; T.J. Kraus, "'Knowing letters'. (II) literacy, books, and literary concept in the Life and Miracles of Saint Thecla (*Mir.Thcl.* 45)," ASE 23 (2006) 304

¹² In *Joh.tr.* 7.12.

¹³ On how to discuss the use or non-use of a fragment as an amulet see J.G. Cook, " P^{50} and the Question of its Function" (in the present volume).

¹⁴ Against the dichotomy of 'religion' (orthodox) and 'magic' (heretic) argues T.J. Kraus, "Amulette als wichtige Zeugnisse für das frühe Christentum—einige grundsätzliche Anmerkungen," ASE 24 (2007) 423–435.

¹⁵ R. Kotansky, "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (ed. C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 108.

¹⁶ For comprehensive information see G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

they contained is very close to (the) Aaron's priestly blessing of the Israelites in Numbers 6:24–26.¹⁷ However, as with \mathfrak{P}^{91} it is difficult to know whether the text itself was considered to have magical powers in and of itself, or whether it was a reminder of the Yahweh's desire to bless, an *aide mémoire*.

When in its history the folded leaf, represented by *P. Macquarie inv.* 360 + *P. Mil. Vogl. inv.* 1224, was used for healing purposes, as has been argued, or how the leaf became separated from the codex, is difficult to know. Was the leaf deliberately torn out, perhaps in desperation and with a belief that the actual scriptures had greater potency than a copy, or did the codex fall apart overtime and the leaf in question was then reused for healing purposes? We can only speculate. The only other leaf, from a New Testament codex from the second and third centuries, as far as can be ascertained, that may have been used in a similar way is *P. Oxy.* X 1229.¹⁸

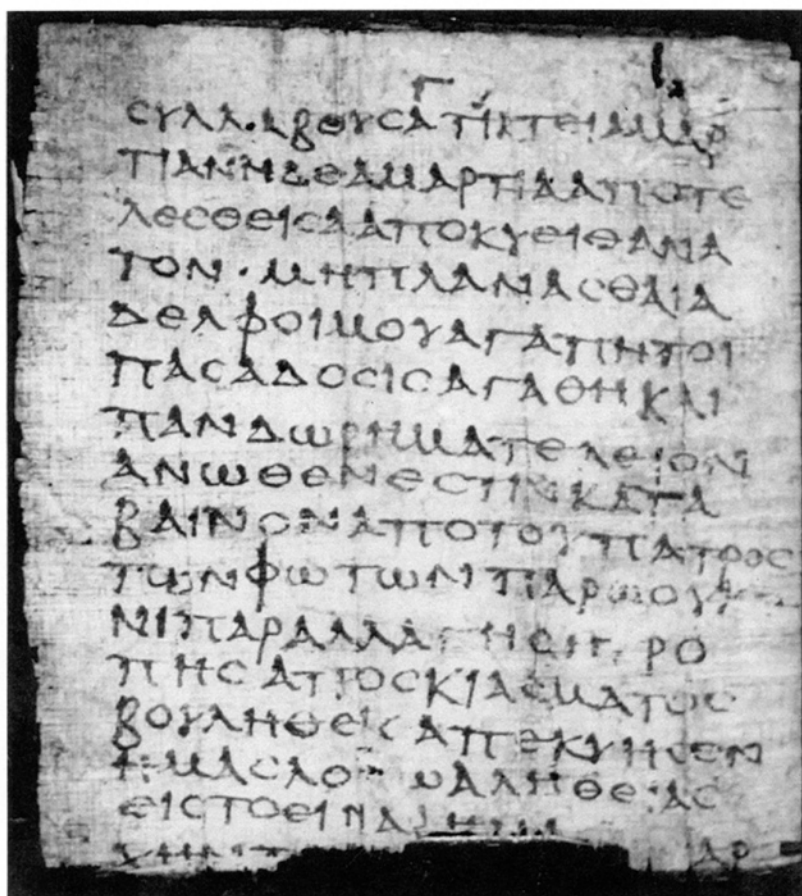
P. Oxy. X 1229 is a fragmented leaf from a codex (11.2 × 12.1 cm) which contained the epistle of James. It was originally dated to the fourth century by Grenfell and Hunt. The Alands redated it to the third century. Comfort argues that it is similar in style to the first hand of *P. Beatty* 9 (III), but should be dated earlier, in that it exhibits small serifs in many of the letters and no small omicrons, which is in his opinion characteristic of the second century. The first hand has numbered the pages as 2 ↓ and 3 →. Approximately 10 lines are missing from the bottom of each page.

Original Size

The original size of the codex would have been approximately 12/13 × 20/21cm, which makes it according to Turner's typology, group 8, aberrant 2 (H not quite twice B). The column width is c. 8.7 cm. If the codex contained only the epistle of James, it would have consisted of 10 leaves or 20 pages. Working back from page 2, it is plain that page 1, which is the inside page, would not have enough spaces to include all of James 1:1–10.

¹⁷ G. Barkay, "Priestly Blessings on Silver Plates," *Cathedra* 52 (1989) 46–59. See also C. Fant and M. Reddish, *Lost Treasures of the Bible: Understanding the Bible through Archaeological Artifacts in World Museums* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008) 405–407.

¹⁸ *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2684 is a fragment from a small codex that contained perhaps a large portion of Jude. However, it was produced as an amulet. See T. Wasserman, " \mathfrak{P}^{78} (*P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2684): The Epistle of Jude on an Amulet?," in *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World* (ed. T. Kraus and T. Nicklas; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 137–160. In regard to the Old Testament, P. Arzt-Grabner and Michael Ernst have argued somewhat convincingly that *P. Vindob. G* 39205, containing Psalms 43.21–24.7; 44.1–2 (LXX), was reused as an amulet, P. Arzt-Grabner and M. Ernst, "Ps., 43, 21–24.27 und Ps., 44, 1–2 LXX," in *Papyri in Honorem Johannis Bingen Octogenarii* (ed. H. Melaerts; Studia Varia Bruxellensia; Leuven: Peeters, 2000) 79–84. For possible later reuse of a New Testament Codex, see *P. Oxy.* LXIV 4406 (V–VI).



P. Oxy. X 1229 (P²³) back →

The “front” page may then have included the title of the book and perhaps the greeting from James.

It would appear that no other Oxyrhynchus codex from the second and perhaps early third century is similar in style to *P. Oxy. X 1229*. As can be observed from the below table 3, 1229 has the largest font size, c. 3–5mm. Secondly, whilst all other early codices appear to be written by “scribes” who have some competency, the hand of 1229 gives the appearance of someone who has had some training in writing, but is not perhaps a professional. The hand appears to be an attempt to produce a formal copy. However, the writer has difficulty maintaining uniform letter height (the letter height varies from c. 3 to c. 5mm), and bilineriarity as well as uniform interlinear spacing. Difficulty with writing letters upright may also be observed. The

letters alpha, delta, iota and in fact all of the vertical strokes are decorated with coarse serifs.¹⁹

Fold Marks

It may be observed that the leaf has four fold marks. The precision of the fold marks leads to the conclusion that the leaf was folded after it was separated from the remaining codex. Could it have been folded so as to have been used as an amulet?²⁰ This is difficult to determine, but perhaps the contents of the leaf may give us a clue. On page 2, 1.11ff. the text reads, Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς ὑπομένει πειρασμόν ὅτι δόκιμος γενόμενος λήμνεται τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζῶης. Could it be that the owner of the folded page kept this leaf from the letter of James for comfort in a period of great difficulty as an *aide mémoire*?²¹ If this were the case, the term amulet is inappropriate to describe its reuse. As has been argued above, depending on the wording, the intention is ambiguous, as it is difficult to know how the owner may have perceived the function of the text in his or her possession.

P.Oxy. III 407

P.Oxy. III 407 is another case in point. *P.Oxy. III 407* (15.7 × 14.5) is an individual sheet containing a prayer to God almighty for mercy, forgiveness and salvation.

ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντ[ο]κράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν
καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς
βοήθησόν μοι ἐλέησόν με [[ἐξ]] ἐξάλιψόν μου τὰς

¹⁹ Pagination numbers are written on the top of the pages in the first hand, the left hand side of the column is aligned and the letters are written in a large block script. For this style of hand, see for example, *P.Vindob.G.* 29790. (First century AD, a prose narration about the antecedents of the Trojan War), which R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Greco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 259, classes as an evolving hand. According to Cribiore, student hands can be classed into 4 hand types. Hand 3 is “the evolving hand”—*hand of a pupil who uses it every day and does conspicuous amount of writing with it. “The clumsy and uneven look and difficulty with maintaining alignment are still present”*. H.C. Youtie “Βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy,” *GRBS* (1971) 148–149, spotted this kind of hand in documents and called it *retarded*. I prefer to call it *undeveloped*, that is, the writer has reached a certain standard, but has not developed a hand that has control of all the techniques that go to make a well formed confident hand.

²⁰ On this question see Cook, “ Ψ^{50} and the Questions of its Function” and de Bruyn, “Papyri, Parchments, Ostraca, and Tablets” (both in the present volume).

²¹ S. Eitrem “Amulets,” in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (ed. M. Cary et al.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949) 46, defines an amulet as a charm or object worn for magical use to protect the wearer against some malevolent force, being or event.

ἁμαρτίας σῶσον με ἐν τῷ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι
αἰῶνι διὰ τοῦ κυρίου κα[ὶ] σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ δι' οὗ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
τῶν αἰώνων[ν] ἀμήν

l. 3 l. ἐξάλειψόν

God almighty, who made the heaven
and the earth and the sea and all that is in them,
help me, have mercy on me, wipe away my
sins, save me in the present age and in the coming
one, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus
Christ, through whom are the glory and the power to the ages
of ages. Amen.

The sheet has been folded vertically eight times and written with ornate block letters. It has been regarded as an amulet.²² On the back, there appears perpendicular to the writing on the front and in between two folds the word *προσευχή*. Underneath between another two folds and by a different hand has been written what seems to be some sort of an account. It is possible to replicate the folds by rolling the papyrus four times from the right and then four times from the left. If this was the case, the label (*προσευχή*) signifying the contents of the folded papyrus, written in a cursive hand, would appear, as it does, on the front of the folded papyrus sheet and what appears to be an account, written in a different hand to that which wrote the word *προσευχή*, appears on the back of the folded sheet perhaps when the owner/s had no more use for the prayer?²³ There appear to be no hints, either in the wording of the prayer, or in the absence of any other features on the sheet to suggest that this prayer was held to have amuletic powers.

Because of the difficulty in determining the use of some of these texts as amulets, a title should be used other than the title “amulet” that includes all texts that have evidence of having been used in personal way either as a penitential prayer (*P.Oxy.* III 407), or as an *aide mémoire* (*P.Oxy.* X 1229), or where the use is uncertain (*P.Macquarie inv.* 360 + *P.Mil.Vogl. inv.* 1224). Perhaps they could come under a general title such as the German compound *Lieblingstexte* (favourite texts)?

²² See van Haelst, 952 and H.J.M. Milne, *P.Lit.Lond.* 1927, 230.

²³ F. Pedretti, “Papiri cristiani liturgici I,” *Aeg* 36 (1956) 249–253, suggests that the account could in fact record an offering, possibly a quantity of oil, but this seems unlikely, given the quantities involved.



P.Oxy. III 407

Table 2: Early Christian Texts to IV That Have Been Considered As Amulets²⁴

Sigla	Date	Content	Folds/Material	Size	Provenance
<i>P.Ant. II 54</i>	III	Mt 6:10–11	Miniature papyrus codex, an amulet?		Egypt
<i>J.Paul Getty 80 AI 53</i>	III	Jewish/Christian/ Egyptian/syncretistic, for epilepsy, “The God of Abraham.....”	Gold foil, lamella	4.2 × 2.0 cm	Unknown

²⁴ This list includes any text that has been considered an amulet, even though its use is ambiguous.

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Sigla	Date	Content	Folds/Material	Size	Provenance
<i>P.Yale</i> II 130	III	Phylactery for a woman against evil visitations and disease, invoking the Lord (NS) Christian?	Papyrus		Egypt
<i>P.Oxy.</i> III 407	III/IV	Mt 6:13 Prayer to God almighty (<i>theos pantokrator</i>) through Jesus Christ, for help, mercy, cleansing and salvation	Papyrus		Egypt
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIV 2684	III/IV	Jude 4–5, 7–8	Papyrus	5.3 × 2.9	Egypt
<i>T.Berlin</i>	III–V	For ophthalmia “In the name of God and Jesus Christ”	Gold lamella	3.4 × 3.4 cm	Tyre
<i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 924	IV	Fever amulet	Papyrus		Egypt
PGM IV	IV(early?)	Invocations of Abraham, Isaac and Jesus Christ, and of “Jesus the God of the Hebrews”			Egypt
Paris, <i>Bibliothèque Nationale, Froehner</i> n. 1212	IV	Fragment of a Christian Liturgical exorcism	Silver lamella	2.7 × 1.6	Cyprus
<i>P.Chester Beatty</i> XIV	IV	Ps 31:8–11, 26:1–6, 8–14, 2:1–8			Egypt
<i>SB X</i> 10230	IV		Reused— <i>Aeg</i> 46 (1966) 178–179 (O’Callaghan, José; 1966) Reuse Detail: <i>P.Palau Rib.</i> 3 (1995)		Oxyrhynchus

Table 3: I & II/III Secular and Christian Codices From Oxyrhynchus Secular Codices

Size of font (mm)	Font size (mm)	Writing* style	Book size (B × H cm)	Punctuation	Accents
<i>P.Oxy.</i> IV 697	2.0	2	12.5×33.1	yes	no
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXX 2517	2.0	1	?	no	no
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXI 2537	2.0	2	12×24.7	yes	no
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIX 2890	2.0	2	?	yes	yes
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIV 3157	1.0–1.5	2	[?]×22	yes	yes
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLVII 3321	2.0	1	11×14.9	no	no
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LIII 3708	1.5	2	15×24.5	yes?	no
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LVI 3843	1.5–3.0	3	20×30	yes	no
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LX 4022	2.0	1	6.5×21	yes	yes
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXII 4310	1.0–3.0	2	16×20	yes	no
<i>PSI</i> I 99	1.0–2.0	2	?	no	yes
<i>PSI</i> II 128	1.5–2.0	3	10×21	no	no
<i>PSI</i> II 145	2.0–3.0	3	?	no	yes
<i>PSI</i> II 147		1	?	no	no
<i>PSI</i> XIV 1383	2.0	1	14×17	no	yes

Christian

Size of font (mm)	Font size (mm)	Writing style	Book size (B × H cm)	Punctuation	Accents
<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 1	2–3	2	10×[?]	yes	no
<i>P.Oxy.</i> X 1229:	3–5	1	12×21	yes	yes
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIV 2683/4405	2.0	2	10×15	no	yes
<i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3523	2.0	1	12×16	yes	yes
<i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3528	2.0	2	14.5×27	no	no
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LX 4009	1.5	3	7×10	yes	no
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIV 4403	2.0	3	11×16	yes	no
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIV 4404	2.0	1	14×25	no	yes
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXV 4447	3.0	1	14.4×18.5	no	no

* 1 = Formal
1 = Semi-formal
1 = Semi-informal

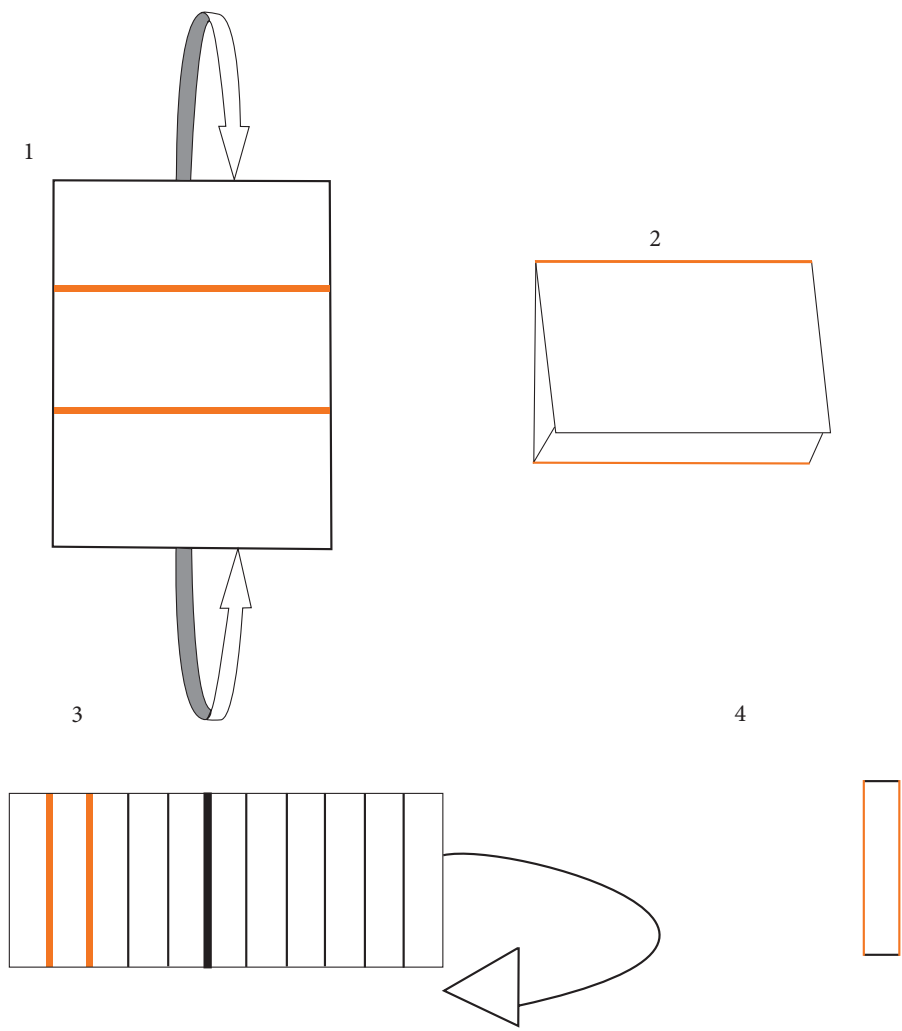


Diagram 2: Suggested Method of Folding the Leaf of \mathfrak{P}^{91}

CHAPTER SEVEN

PAPYRI, PARCHMENTS, OSTRACA, AND TABLETS WRITTEN WITH BIBLICAL TEXTS IN GREEK AND USED AS AMULETS: A PRELIMINARY LIST¹

Theodore de Bruyn

The evidence that Christians wrote biblical texts on various materials for personal use in Late Antiquity is abundant and manifold. We find biblical texts on papyrus, parchment, wooden tablets, pottery fragments, metal foil, gems, stone, and other materials.² It is usually easy to distinguish materials that were written with biblical texts for personal use from those that were written with biblical texts for institutional or public use as, for example, biblical codices or liturgical books. More difficult to ascertain is the particular purpose for which biblical texts written for personal use were intended. Sometimes this difficulty is reflected in the hesitations of an editor, who may offer several suggestions as to the purpose of an item: an amulet, an *aide-mémoire*, or a writing exercise. Sometimes the difficulty manifests itself in the divergent views of editors and other scholars on the purpose of an

¹ Previous versions of this paper were presented at the 25th International Congress of Papyrology, University of Michigan; the Department of Ancient History, Macquarie University; and the 2008 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Boston. I am grateful for the comments I received on all these occasions and for the hospitality offered by members of the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre at Macquarie University during my short stay there. The late Traianos Gagos, Head Archivist, University of Michigan Library Papyrus Collection, Robert Daniel, Curator of the Papyrussammlung in Cologne, Cornelia Römer, then Director of the Papyrussammlung and Papyrusmuseum in Vienna, and Fabian Reiter, Curator of Greek papyri in the Papyrussammlung in Berlin permitted me to view some of the items discussed in this paper. I am very appreciative of their warm welcome and helpful assistance. My colleague Jitse H.F. Dijkstra has provided many comments on the penultimate version of this paper, saving me from several errors. Finally, I wish to thank Steven Scott and Stephen Quinlan, doctoral candidates in religious studies at the University of Ottawa, for assistance in research; the Faculty of Arts at the University of Ottawa for a leave from teaching in 2008; and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for a Standard Research Grant in support of the project of which this paper is a part.

² The wide range of written materials is especially noticeable in the case of Ps 90 LXX; see T.J. Kraus, "Psalm 90 der Septuaginta in apotropäischer Verwendung—erste Anmerkungen und Datenmaterial," in *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology* (2 vols.; ed. J. Frösén, T. Purola, and E. Salmenkivi; Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 122; Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2007) 1:499–514; idem, "Septuaginta—Psalm 90 in apotropäischer Verwendung: Vorüberlegungen für eine kritische Edition und (bisheriges) Datenmaterial," *BN* 125 (2005) 39–73.

item. And sometimes the difficulty is overlooked, and an item is classified as one thing when other possibilities should be considered.

Since I have been studying the Christianization of the production and the use of amulets in Late Antique Egypt, my particular interest concerning this body of material is in amulets. Amulets are, evidently, only one of several possible personal uses of biblical texts that a New Testament scholar must consider. Nevertheless, as a category of analysis, criticism, and theorizing, amulets continue to intrude into the world of New Testament textual criticism. The series *Texts and Editions for New Testament Study* has published several exemplary papers that carefully interrogate the classification of several New Testament texts as amulets.³ “Amulets” is also one of several categories of non-continuous New Testament manuscripts suggested by Stanley Porter in his proposal to organize the extant witnesses to the text of the New Testament into two major groups: continuous and non-continuous manuscripts.⁴ Although amulets may be of peripheral interest when one establishes the text of the New Testament—a scholarly habit that some are questioning⁵—they loom larger when one focuses on the reception of Scripture—Jewish and Christian, canonical and deuterocanonical—by Christians.⁶

When one ventures into the study of amulets as an aspect of the reception of Scripture, however, one encounters the difficulty, mentioned above, of distinguishing amulets from other biblical texts written for personal use. What criteria should be used to identify a biblical text that was written in

³ T. Wasserman, “P⁷⁸ (P.Oxy. XXXIV 2684): The Epistle of Jude on an Amulet?,” in *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World* (ed. T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas; TENTS 2; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006) 137–160, a revised version of which appears in idem, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission* (ConBNT 43; Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 2006) 51–72; T.J. Kraus, “P.Oxy. V 840—Amulet or Miniature Codex? Principal and Additional Remarks on Two Terms,” in *Ad fontes: Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity* (ed. T.J. Kraus; TENTS 3; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007) 47–67, an English translation of T.J. Kraus, “P.Oxy. V 840—Amulett oder Miniaturkodex? Grundsätzliche und ergänzende Anmerkungen zu zwei Termini,” ZAC 8 (2005) 485–497; and the paper by J.G. Cook, “P⁵⁰ and the Question of Its Function,” in the present volume. I am grateful to Professor Cook for providing me with a copy of his paper in advance of its publication.

⁴ S.E. Porter, “Textual Criticism in the Light of Diverse Textual Evidence for the Greek New Testament: An Expanded Proposal,” in *New Testament Manuscripts* (ed. Kraus and Nicklas) 305–337, esp. 319–322.

⁵ See, e.g., Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude*, 71–72; T.J. Kraus, “Amulette als wichtige Zeugnisse für das frühe Christentum—einige grundsätzliche Anmerkungen,” ASE 24/2 (2007) 423–435.

⁶ T. de Bruyn, “Appeals to Jesus as the One ‘Who Heals Every Illness and Every Infirmary’ (Matt 4:23, 9:35) in Amulets in Late Antiquity,” in *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Montréal Colloquium in Honour of Charles Kannengiesser 11–13 October 2006* (ed. L. DiTommaso and L. Turcescu; The Bible in Ancient Christianity 6; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008) 65–81; idem, “Apocryphal and Canonical Christian Narratives in Greek Papyrus Amulets in Late Antiquity,” in *Christian Apocryphal Texts for the New Millennium: Achievements, Prospects, and Challenges* (ed. P. Piovanelli; SBL-SymS; Leiden/Boston, forthcoming).

order to be used as an amulet, and how should these criteria be applied, particularly in uncertain cases? This paper addresses these questions by systematically reviewing biblical texts written on papyrus, parchment, ostraca, and tablets that were or may have been amulets.

An amulet is here defined as an item that is believed to convey in and of itself, as well as in association with incantation and other actions, supernatural power for protective, beneficial, or antagonistic effect, and that is worn on one's body or fixed, displayed, or deposited at some place.⁷ While I am mainly concerned with biblical texts that were written to be used as amulets (primary use), I also consider biblical texts that were written for some other purpose and were perhaps later used as amulets (secondary use). It is not necessary for my purposes to enter into the discussion as to whether or when amulets constitute "magic" or "religion".⁸ Apart from a few exceptions,⁹ I consider only items from the fourth to the eighth centuries C.E. that have Christian elements, that are written in Greek, and that were found in Egypt. These limits correspond to the terms of reference of the larger project which underlies the present investigation: a study of the influence of the liturgy of the church in Egypt on the Christianization of Greek amulets in Late Antiquity. Given my limited knowledge of Coptic

⁷ For definitions of the term "amulet" and descriptions of what the term comprises, see, among others, R. Wünsch, "Amuletum," *Glotta* 2 (1910) 219–230; E. von Dobschütz, "Charms and Amulets (Christian)," *ERE* 3 (1911) 413–430; F. Eckstein and J.H. Waszink, "Amulett," *RAC* 1 (1950) 397–411; R. Kotansky, "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Written Greek Amulets," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (ed. C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 107–108. My specification of "protective, beneficial, or antagonistic effect" is similar to the analysis of types of amulets in Von Dobschütz, "Charms and Amulets (Christian)," 416–421.

⁸ For this on-going discussion, see D.E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW* II.32.2 (1980) 1510–1516; A.F. Segal, "Hellenistic Magic: Some Questions of Definition," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religion Presented to Gilles Quispel on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (ed. R. van den Broek and M.J. Vermaseren; Leiden: Brill, 1981) 349–375; H.S. Versnel, "Some Reflections on the Relationship Magic-Religion," *Numen* 38 (1991) 177–197; F. Graf, "Prayer in Magical and Religious Ritual," in *Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (ed. C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 188–213; J. Braarvig, "Magic: Reconsidering the Grand Dichotomy," in *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4–8 May 1997* (ed. D.R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, and E. Thomassen; Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4; Bergen: Åströms, 1999) 21–54; J.N. Bremmer, "Appendix: Magic and Religion," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (ed. J.N. Bremmer and J.R. Veenstra; Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 1; Leuven: Peeters, 2002) 267–271; H. Förster, "Christliche Texte in magischer Verwendung: Eine Anfrage," in *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology* (2 vols.; ed. J. Frösén, T. Purola, and E. Salmenkivi; Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2007) 1:341–352. R.L. Fowler, "The Concept of Magic," *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA)* (5 vols.; Los Angeles: Getty, 2005) 3:283–286 provides a convenient overview, with extensive bibliography at 286–287; I am grateful to Franziska Naether for bringing this article to my attention.

⁹ *P.Heid.* inv. L 5 and *P.Vindob.* L 91, both written in Latin; *O.Athens* inv. 12227, found in Megara, Greece.

and the complexities of dating Coptic amulets, I must regrettably leave the assessment of Coptic materials to others. While focusing on the problems presented by papyri and parchments, I also review the problems presented by ostraca and tablets.¹⁰ So far, I have not been able to include gems, bracelets, and other jewelry within my purview. I also leave aside *hermeneia*, oracular inquiries which use the Bible for divination, which is a different purpose from that found in amulets.¹¹

To locate items that have been deemed to be amulets, I have relied upon the following *instrumenta studiorum*: the two major collections of edited magical papyri, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* and *Supplementum Magicum*;¹² Joseph van Haelst's 1976 catalogue of Jewish and Christian literary papyri;¹³ Kurt Treu's and Cornelia Römer's reviews of recently published Christian papyri from 1969 to the present;¹⁴ and William Brashear's 1995 survey of Greek magical papyri.¹⁵ I have also searched papyrological journals and editions of papyri, parchments, ostraca, and tablets for amulets and formularies published between 1996 and 2007. The inventory I present here is a preliminary one, and is limited to amulets that quote Scripture. In the near future, I hope to publish a complete inventory of amulets written in Greek and manifesting Christian elements, including those that do not quote Scripture.¹⁶

¹⁰ I am aware of only one amulet on metal foil (*lamella*) that quotes a biblical text, the Jewish "Phylactery of Moses" found near Syracuse, which cites Aquila's version of Deut 32:1–3; see R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae. Part I: Published Texts of Known Provenance* (PapCol 22/1; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994), no. 32.

¹¹ On the use of Scripture for divination, see H.Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1995) 239–241. On the use of the Gospel of John in particular, see B.M. Metzger, "Greek Manuscripts of John's Gospel with 'Hermeneiai'," in *Text and Testimony: Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A.F.J. Klijn* (ed. T. Baarda et al.; Kampen: Kok, 1988) 162–169; S.E. Porter, "The Use of Hermeneia and Johannine Papyrus Manuscripts," in *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (ed. B. Palme; PapVind 1; Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science, 2007) 573–580.

¹² *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri* (2 vols.; 2nd. rev. ed.; ed. K. Preisendanz, E. Heitsch, and A. Henrichs; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974), hereafter abbreviated as *PGM*; *Supplementum Magicum* (2 vols.; ed. R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini; PapCol 16.1–2; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1991–1992), hereafter abbreviated as *Suppl. Mag.*

¹³ J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (PublSorbPap 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976).

¹⁴ K. Treu, "Christliche Papyri [...]," *APF* 19 (1969) 169–206; 20 (1970) 145–152; 21 (1971) 207–214; 22 (1973) 367–395; 24/25 (1976) 253–261; 26 (1978) 149–159; 27 (1980) 251–258; 28 (1982) 91–98; 29 (1983) 107–110; 30 (1984) 121–128; 31 (1985) 59–71; 32 (1986) 87–95; 34 (1988) 69–78; 35 (1989) 107–116; 36 (1990) 95–98; 37 (1991) 93–98; C.E. Römer, "Christliche Texte [...]," *APF* 43 (1997) 107–145; 44 (1998) 129–139; 45 (1999) 138–148; 47 (2001) 368–376; 48 (2002) 349–350; 50 (2004) 275–283; 51 (2005) 334–340; 53 (2007) 250–255.

¹⁵ W. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)," *ANRW II.18.5* (1995) 3380–3684, esp. 3480–3482 and 3492–3493.

¹⁶ T. de Bruyn and J.H.F. Dijkstra, "Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraca, and Tablets," *BASP*, forthcoming.

*Criteria Used to Classify Papyri and Parchments with
Biblical Texts as Amulets*

The criteria used to classify a papyrus or parchment written with a biblical text as an amulet may conveniently be divided into criteria that relate to the written text and criteria that relate to the material form.

Criteria that relate to the written text include (a) characteristics found in amulets more generally and (b) characteristics that are specific to the biblical text. The former include the presence of adjurations or petitions, esoteric words (*voces magicae*) or signs (*characteres*), letters or words arranged in shapes, short narratives that relate events associated with the divine world to the matter at hand (*historiolae*), and phraseology often found in amulets.¹⁷ The latter include the presence of biblical texts frequently cited for their protective or beneficial effects, such as Ps 90 LXX or the Lord's Prayer;¹⁸ biblical texts which could be interpreted as having a protective or beneficial effect; biblical texts cited in abbreviated form as a cipher for an entire text, such as the incipits of the gospels or the opening words of the verses of a psalm; biblical texts which are quoted in an incomplete or confused manner; an accumulation of biblical texts juxtaposed one with another; crosses, staurograms, or christograms at the beginning or end of the biblical text; acclamations such as "amen" or "alleluia"; and letters or other signs deemed significant in a Christian context, such as α and ω or $\chi\mu\gamma$.

Criteria that relate to the form of the item include (a) characteristics of the item that rule out its having been written as part of a literary work, such as a biblical codex or a liturgical manual, and (b) characteristics that indicate that the item was or could have been worn or affixed. There are several characteristics that indicate that an item did not form part of a continuous roll or codex. These include the fact that the biblical text was written on a single sheet or leaf of papyrus (thus not part of a roll); or, in the case of a leaf or sheet, on one side only (thus not part of a codex, though more evidence is desirable to arrive at a secure determination);¹⁹ or on an irregular (particularly oblong) sheet or fragment; or on material that was previously

¹⁷ For an overview of these characteristics, see Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri," 3429–3443.

¹⁸ On these two favorite biblical texts, see now Kraus, "Septuaginta—Psalm 90 in apotropäischer Verwendung," and T.J. Kraus, "Manuscripts with the *Lord's Prayer*—They Are More Than Simply Witnesses to That Text Itself," in *New Testament Manuscripts* (ed. T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas) 227–266. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to the Psalms follow the enumeration and version of the Septuagint (LXX).

¹⁹ See the complications discussed by E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977) 10.

written with another document (though rolls were reused to make copies of biblical books and other texts).²⁰ The absence of scribal practices customarily found in literary documents, the coarseness of the hand, the irregularity of the orthography, and the presence of peculiar readings may also rule out literary production.²¹ Characteristics that indicate that the item was or could have been worn or affixed include the small size of the item (e.g., fragments of papyrus, small codex sheets); evidence, in the case of larger sheets of papyrus or parchment, that the item was folded or rolled into a size small enough to be worn; the presence of holes indicating that the item could have been strung with a cord; and traces that the item was in fact strung with a cord.

These criteria are all well known to papyrologists and other scholars, who regularly discuss them when describing and classifying their material. The problem with applying them to items written with biblical texts—apart from the difficulties that must be handled when ascertaining whether the item manifests one or more of the above mentioned characteristics—is that the characteristics of the item often do not allow one to state with certainty that the item was written or used as an amulet. More often one is working with characteristics that allow one to state only that it is probable or possible that the item was written or used in this manner. In other words, one can only state that the most likely purpose (or secondary use) of the item was that of an amulet (this being the probable purpose or use, to the exclusion of others) or that one of the possible purposes (or secondary uses) of the item was that of an amulet (this being a possible purpose or use, along with others, such as a writing exercise, an *aide-mémoire*, or a private prayer). One is necessarily obliged to deal in probabilities, weighing all the characteristics of the item in order to come to a judgment. Therein lie the hazards.

Papyrologists are cognizant of these probabilities. They often (though not always) remark that the item they are editing was “probably” or “possibly” or “not likely” an amulet, and they usually (though not always) give reasons for this judgment. Nevertheless, a comprehensive review of editorial judgments about biblical texts in the form of amulets suggests that greater circumspection or agnosticism is in order. Using the criteria discussed above, I classify biblical texts that were or may have been amulets into four categories: certain, probable, possible, and unlikely (Tables I–IV). I also discuss some of the reasons and hesitations that come into play when classifying an

²⁰ See, e.g., the incidence of used rolls (opisthographs) in the list of Christian literary manuscripts of the second and third centuries in L.W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006) 209–229.

²¹ I am grateful to Tommy Wasserman for bringing the significance of peculiar readings to my attention; see further n. 68 below.

item. In any classificatory system there will inevitably be “problem cases” (though the problem lies as much with the limits of classificatory systems as with the reality being classified). While some of the biblical texts discussed below manifest many of the characteristics of an amulet—exemplifying characteristics of an “ideal” type—many of them manifest only a few such characteristics. It is my intention to acknowledge these classificatory limitations while still applying a classificatory analysis, taking as my point of departure those items which manifest the characteristics of an “ideal” type, items, in other words, that were certainly amulets.²²

Papyri and Parchments

1. *Certain Amulets*

We begin on *terra firma* with biblical texts on papyrus and parchment whose classification as amulets is certain (Table I).²³ There are a few items that include adjurations similar to those found in non-Christian amulets: *P.Iand.* I 6 = *PGM* II P17 = *P.Giss.Lit.* 5.4, a garbled text miscopied from an exemplar that concluded with an exorcism; *P.Oxy.* LXV 4469, a transcription of the letter of Abgar to Jesus into which the scribe interjects a request that Jesus should heal a certain Epimachus “quickly, quickly, quickly”; *P.Princ.* II 107 = *Suppl.Mag.* I 29, an exorcistic adjuration of the Archangel Michael that, while Christian, echoes traditional and Jewish phraseology;²⁴ and *P.Heid.* inv. L 5 = *Suppl.Mag.* I 36, an adjuration that echoes the incipit of the Gospel of John, quotes verses from Ps 15 and Ps 20, and concludes with the Latin *sanctus* and *benedictus*.²⁵

To these we can add items that express a request or petition in a form akin to Christian prayers: *BGU* III 954 = *PGM* II P9, *BKT* VI 7.1, *BKT* IX 206 (*Suppl.Mag.* I 26), *P.Cair.Cat.* 10696 = *PGM* II P5c, *P.Köln* VIII 340, *P.Oxy.* VIII 1151 = *PGM* II P5b, and *P.Vindob.* G 29831 = *MPER* N.S. XVII

²² In so doing, I adopt an approach similar to that of B. Saler, *Conceptualizing Religion: Immanent Anthropologists, Transcendent Natives, and Unbounded Categories* (SHR 56; Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill, 1993), who uses exemplars to identify the prototypical characteristics of a category, without drawing sharp boundaries around the category.

²³ In what follows, references to papyrological editions, corpora, and series are abbreviated according to J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (5th ed.; BASP Supplements 9; Oakville: Brown, 2001); electronically updated as J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>, September 2008. For items not published in collected editions as listed in the *Checklist* I provide bibliographical details in the notes.

²⁴ See now Kraus, “Manuscripts with the *Lord’s Prayer*,” 254–266.

²⁵ For details see R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, “From the African Psalter and Liturgy,” *ZPE* 74 (1988) 253–265.

10.²⁶ In these items the biblical quotations often consist of several commonly cited passages juxtaposed with one another: the Lord's Prayer and the incipits of the gospels of John and Matthew in *BGU* III 954; a trinitarian invocation, Ps 90:1, the incipits of the four gospels, Ps 117:6–7, Ps 17:2, and Matt 4:23, each introduced with a cross, in *BKT* VI 7.1; the Lord's Prayer and a verse from Ps 90 in *P.Iand.* I 6; the incipit of the Gospel of John in *P.Oxy.* VIII 1151; and Ps 90:1–2 followed by several lines of the Lord's Prayer and the *tersanctus* in *P.Princ.* II 107.

Lastly, we can include items that comprise only biblical texts (with occasionally a doxology or acclamation), but whose classification as amulets is likewise certain or almost certain: *P.Duke* inv. 778 (formerly *P.Rob.* inv. 41), a sheet of papyrus containing Ps 90, the heading of Ps 91, the Lord's Prayer, and a doxology;²⁷ *P.Köln* IV 171, a fragment of a sheet of papyrus containing the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer followed by a christological formula and several acclamations; *P.Leid.Inst.* 10, a miniature codex bearing the text of Ps 90; *P.Oxy.* VIII 1077 = *PGM* II P4, an amulet for healing that consists of the text of Matt 4:23–24 arranged schematically in crosses around a human figure; *P.Schøyen* I 16, fragments of a sheet of papyrus containing the Lord's Prayer, a benediction that echoes 2 Cor 13:13, and Ps 90; *PSI* VI 719 = *PGM* II P19, a long strip of papyrus with the incipits of the gospels, Ps 90:1, the beginning of the Lord's Prayer, and a doxology, all preceded and followed by acclamations to Christ and crosses; *P.Vindob.* G 348,²⁸ the remains of a sheet of papyrus with the incipits of the four gospels and the text of Ps 90 (except verses 7c–8); and *P.Vindob.* G 2312 = *Stud.Pal.* XX 249,²⁹ a sheet of papyrus with the text of Ps 90:1–2, Rom 12:1, and John

²⁶ *BGU* III 954 is a prayer of Silvanus for release from demons and sickness. *BKT* VI 7.1 concludes with the request that "the body and blood of Christ spare your servant who wears this amulet (τὸ φυλακτήριον)". *BKT* IX 206 is a petition addressed to Mary to heal Phoibammon of an infection of the eyes, followed by Ps 90:1. *P.Cair.* Cat. 10696 is a prayer for a woman that invokes the protection of saints Phocas and Mercurius, and, in so doing, echoes Ps 21:20–23 and quotes the incipits of Luke, Matthew, and John. *P.Köln* VIII 340 is a protective amulet that has on one side seven staurograms, the text of John 1:1–11, an invocation to God the Father and Mary the God-bearer (θεοτόκος), acclamations, crosses, and *characteres*, and on the other side, depictions of praying figures. *P.Oxy.* VIII 1151 is a series of prayers addressed to Christ to deliver Joannia from evil and fever. *P.Vindob.* G 29831, a parchment codex sheet, has verses from chapter 1 of the Gospel of John on two sides of one leaf and an invocation calling upon "God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" to dispatch his angel over its wearer (ἐπὶ τὸν φοροῦντα τοῦτο) on two sides of the other leaf.

²⁷ C.A. La'da and A. Papathomas, "A Greek Papyrus Amulet from the Duke Collection with Biblical Excerpts," *BASP* 41 (2004) 93–113.

²⁸ R.W. Daniel, "A Christian Amulet on Papyrus," *VC* 37 (1983) 400–404.

²⁹ E. Bormann, "Amulet mit Stellen der heiligen Schrift," in *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer: Führer durch die Ausstellung* (ed. J. Karabacek et al.; Vienna: Hölder, 1894) 124–125, no. 528; *Catalogue Papyrorum Raineri. Series Graeca. Pars I: Textus graeci papyrorum, qui in libro "Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer-Führer durch die Ausstellung Wien 1894" descripti sunt* (ed.

2:1a,2, with variants that suggest liturgical or homiletic usage,³⁰ preceded by a line of seven stars and followed by the acclamation $\alpha\delta\omega\nu\alpha\iota\ldots\kappa(\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron)\varsigma\ldots\sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\theta$.

The textual features of the above items—which include the presence of adjurations, biblical passages that are frequently cited for their protective or beneficial value, biblical passages that are juxtaposed or abbreviated, acclamations, and the like—provide in themselves strong grounds for classifying them as amulets. In addition, almost all of these items were folded or rolled into a format that could have been worn easily.³¹ Items that were not manipulated in that manner could conceivably have been displayed.³²

C. Wessely; StudPal XX; Leipzig: Hässel, 1921) 141, no. 294; *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus II* (ed. C. Wessely; PO 18.3; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1924) 411; S.R. Pickering, "The Significance of Non-continuous New Testament Textual Materials in Papyri," in *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts: The Papers of the First Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (ed. D.G.K. Taylor; Atlanta: University of Birmingham Press, 1999) 121–141 at 141.

³⁰ Pickering, "Significance," 127–129.

³¹ BGU III 954 is a sheet of papyrus found as a packet of 1×2 cm and tied with a string (U. Wilcken, "Heidnisches und Christliches aus Ägypten," *APF* 1 [1901] 396–436 at 431; republished in *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, [2 vols.; ed. L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken; 1912; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963] 1.2:159, no. 133). BKT VI 7.1 is a parchment of 8×14 cm with traces of folding, whose script has been blurred by the sweat of the wearer (F. Krebs, "Altchristliche Texte im Berliner Museum," in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen* 4 [Göttingen, Dieterich, 1892] 114–120 at 119). BKT IX 206 is a fragment of papyrus of approximately 5×4 cm that was folded twice vertically (W. Brashear, "Vier Berliner Zaubertexte," *ZPE* 17 [1975] 25–33 at 30). P.Duke inv. 778 is a sheet of papyrus of 26.8×11.5 cm that was folded eight times vertically and once horizontally, thus forming a packet of about 3×5.5 cm (La'da and Papathomas, "A Greek Papyrus Amulet," 93–94). P.land. I 6 is a sheet of papyrus of 30×14.4 cm that, folded five times horizontally and five times vertically, would have formed a packet of about 4×3 cm (P.Giss.Lit., p. 170). P.Köln VIII 340 is a narrow strip of papyrus now in two fragments, 3.5×15.8 cm and 3.4×5.1 cm, both of which bear traces of folding (P.Köln VIII, pp. 82–83). The leaves of P.Leid.Inst. 10 were folded down the middle to form a packet of about 2.5×6 cm (P.Leid.Inst., p. 26). P.Oxy. VIII 1077 is a sheet of parchment of 11.1×6 cm that was folded twice horizontally and four times vertically, forming a packet of about 2 cm square with the corners trimmed (cf. P.Oxy. VIII, plate I). P.Oxy. VIII 1151 is a sheet of papyrus of 4.4×23.4 cm that was tightly folded and tied with a string when it was found. P.Oxy. LXV 4469 is a sheet of papyrus of 5.3×15 cm that was folded horizontally across the middle and then again three times, thus forming a packet of about 5.3×2 cm (P.Oxy. LXV, pp. 122–123). P.Princ. II 107 is a sheet of papyrus of 13×15.5 cm that was folded six times vertically from right to left and then once horizontally (Suppl.Mag. I, p. 78), thus forming a packet of about 2×7.5 cm. The fragmentary state of P.Schøyen I 16 is probably a result of folding (cf. P.Schøyen I, plate XI). PSI VI 719 is an oblong papyrus of 25×5.5 cm that was folded at least twice vertically (Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 246, as reported by R. Pintaudi). P.Vindob. G 2312, a sheet of papyrus of 14.9×6 cm, was folded four times vertically and six times along the width to form a packet of about 2.5×2 cm (Bormann, "Amulet mit Stellen der heiligen Schrift," 125). P.Vindob. G 29831, the double leaf of a miniature codex, would have measured about 3×4 cm if it was folded down the middle. All dimensions here and in the rest of the paper are given width \times height.

³² P.Köln IV 171, for example, manifests amuletic features, but was not folded (this was kindly confirmed by Sophie Greiscler, conservator of the Papyrussammlung). The

2. *Probable or Possible Amulets*

As soon as we venture beyond the items just discussed, we enter into degrees of probability. The difficulty lies not in the fact that they were not, for the most part, literary productions. The difficulty lies in differentiating among the personal uses for which the biblical text may have been written. In other words, all the items under consideration here can be distinguished from biblical codices and liturgical rolls by certain tell-tale characteristics: they are discontinuous, incomplete, or irregular texts, sometimes written on previously used material, with irregular *nomina sacra* or orthography, and so on. However, these characteristics alone are not sufficient evidence that the biblical text was written to be used as an amulet rather than for some other purpose.

Thus I distinguish between biblical texts that were *probably* amulets (Table II) and those that were *possibly* amulets (Table III). Items that were probably amulets are similar to items that were certainly amulets in the character of their biblical text, which had a protective or beneficial value, as well as in their material form, insofar as they often (but not always) appear to have been folded or strung in order to be worn. Among the possible uses of the item, that of an amulet is the most likely one, even if other uses cannot be ruled out. Items that were possibly amulets lack even these characteristics, thus leaving open the possibility of uses other than that of an amulet.

This last group—biblical texts that were possibly amulets—presents the greatest challenges with regard to their classification as amulets. First, it may be difficult to isolate an exclusively amuletic value to the text, so that it is not possible to rule out other uses of the text, particularly devotional uses. Second, it may be difficult to determine that the item was worn or fixed, either because there is no indication that the item was manipulated into a format that could have been worn or fixed, or because there are other possible explanations for the format of the item, including the presence of folds or holes. Third, other features of the item, such as the use of material already written with another document, may be capable of several interpretations and must therefore be interpreted with caution. A few examples will serve to illustrate these problems.

I begin with the ambiguities inherent in the biblical text. Most of the biblical texts written on the papyri and parchments listed in Tables II and III can be interpreted as having a protective or beneficial value, especially

original sheet would have been about twice as high as the remaining fragment, which measures 8.5 × 5.5 cm (*P.Köln* IV, p. 31).

if one accepts the argument of Claire Préaux that passages from the psalms glorifying the power and presence of God had a prophylactic value.³³ But it is difficult to find in them an exclusively amuletic purpose. This can be illustrated from the papyri and parchments that cite a portion of Ps 1, a psalm that, arguably, has a protective or beneficial value.

First we have *P.Grenf.* II 112(a), a small parchment 5.7 × 7.6 cm with traces of four horizontal folds.³⁴ It presents Ps 1:3 in small irregular uncials, preceded by the acclamation $\bar{X}C$ MAPIA ΓENNA KAI + MAPIA $\bar{X}C$ ΓENNA K(αι) $\bar{X}C$ MAPIA ΓENNA K(αι) and followed by a row of six crosses.³⁵ The editors suggested that it may have been a choir slip,³⁶ but the opening acclamation, series of crosses, and traces of folding strengthen the probability that the piece was both written and used as an amulet.

Then we can compare two papyri with multiple texts, including portions of Ps 1. *PSI* inv. 533, a sheet 15 × 14 cm, contains Ps 1:1–2 written parallel to the fibres on the recto in a rough uncial hand in two columns of six lines of text. There was certainly a third column, as the second column ends with τὸ θέλη[μα αὐτοῦ of verse 2a. Above the first column of the psalm there are six lines of cursive script parallel to the fibres, but the text is almost completely lost. The verso contains another five lines of cursive script written by the same hand. From the plate there appear to be traces of a fold between columns 1 and 2, and the fragmentary state of the papyrus could indeed be due to folding. The editor argues, not unreasonably, that the piece served as an amulet.³⁷ In contrast to that, *P.Vindob.* G 25949, which also presents the opening verses of Ps 1 on the reverse of a documentary text, was probably not an amulet. It is an irregular sheet of papyrus of 26.7 × 15.4 to 11.2 cm. The documentary text runs parallel to the fibres on the recto and against the fibres in four lines on the verso. In another hand, the opening line of a letter in Coptic, which breaks off, and the opening verses of Ps 1 in Greek, which

³³ C. Préaux, "Une amulette chrétienne aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles," *ChrEg* 20 (1935) 361–370 at 365–367.

³⁴ The traces of folding are evident in A. Blanchard, "Sur quelques interprétations de XMI," in *Proceedings of the 14th International Congress of Papyrologists* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1975) 19–24 with plate XI.

³⁵ There are several possible renderings of the acclamation, requiring adjustments in the expansion of $\bar{X}C$ or the declension of Μαρία . See J.-O. Tjäder, "Christ, Our Lord, Born of the Virgin Mary (XMI and VDN)," *Erano*s 68 (1970) 148–90 at 152–156, 160–161; Blanchard, "Sur quelques interprétations de XMI," 22–23; A. Gostoli, "Una nuova ipotesi interpretativa della sigla cristiana XMI," *StudPap* 22 (1983) 9–14; T. Derda, "Some Remarks on the Christian Symbol XMI," *JJP* 22 (1992) 21–27; and A. Di Bitonto Kasser, "Un nuova attestazione di χριστου μαρια γεννα," *Aegyptus* 78 (1998) 123–129 at 124–126.

³⁶ *P.Grenf.* II, p. 167.

³⁷ V. Bartoletti, "Papiri inediti della raccolta Fiorentina," *ASNP* 26 (1957) 176–189 at 176–178.

also break off, are parallel to the fibres on the verso. The editors report no traces of folding. They regard the piece, rightly in my view, not as an amulet but as “a (devout) pastime”.³⁸

We can likewise compare the two small papyri *P.Taur.* inv. 27 and *PSI* inv. 1989. *P.Taur.* inv. 27 contains the text of Ps 1:1, headed by a staurogram and written in dark red ink in a fine uncial hand. The papyrus is written parallel to the fibres and was meant to include only the first verse of the psalm. While not overly large at 10.5 × 11.3 cm,³⁹ the papyrus would have been more easily displayed than worn. It may well have been an amulet, but one cannot rule out other personal uses of the text;⁴⁰ here, as elsewhere, the boundaries between the possible uses of a biblical text begin to blur.⁴¹ Our other example, *PSI* inv. 1989, a papyrus fragment 3.4 × 4.8 cm, preserves the text of Ps 1:2–3 written against the fibres in a script that imperfectly resembles a biblical uncial hand. Two interlinear oblique strokes suggest that the exemplar may have served for liturgical reading. The editor dates the hand to the end of the second century and observes that, given the early date and the unknown provenance, it is not possible to determine if the writing originated in a Jewish or Christian context.⁴² While the fragmentary state of the papyrus could be due to folding, we have no sure evidence that the papyrus was worn as an amulet.

Finally we can compare the remains of two codices, *P.Vindob.* G 3089 = *MPER* N.S. XVII 1 and *P.Oxy.* XV 1779. *P.Vindob.* G 3089 is a sheet of a codex 7.3 × 5 cm that contains Ps 1:3–4 and Ps 4:2, the latter preceded by a cross. Because the text of Ps 1:3–4 neither begins nor concludes within the

³⁸ P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp, “Literary and Semi-Literary Papyri from the Vienna Papyrus Collection,” *ChrEg* 49 (1974) 309–331 at 313–315.

³⁹ A. Traversa, “Notizie di papiri greci inediti del Museo Egiziano di Torino,” *Memoriam Achillis Beltrami. Miscellanea philologica* (Genova: Istituto di Filologia Classica, 1954) 227–237 at 236, with photo on facing page.

⁴⁰ Cf. A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, vol. 1.1: *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert* (ed. D. Fraenkel; Septuaginta Supplementum; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004) 371: “Herstellungsart verweist auf Gebrauch als Amulett” (hereafter abbreviated as Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*); with I. Cecchetti, “Un interessante documento dei primi tempi del cristianesimo in Egitto: Il papiro «T. Gr. I» del Museo Egizio di Torino,” in *Miscellanea Giulio Belvederi* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Christiana, 1954) 557–578 at 567: “un memoriale perenne [...] un phylacterium”.

⁴¹ See H. Harrauer and C. Gastgeber, “Bibeltexte im Alltag: Schutzamulette,” in *Ein Buch verändert die Welt: Älteste Zeugnisse der Heiligen Schrift aus der Zeit des frühen Christentums in Ägypten* (ed. H. Froschauer, C. Gastgeber, and H. Harrauer; Nilus 7; Vienna: Phoibos, 2003) 35–45 at 40–41 on *P.Vindob.* G 17087 = *MPER* N.S. XVII 2 and *P.Vindob.* 43283 = *MPER* N.S. XVII 4.

⁴² D. Limongi, “LXX Ps. 1, 2–3,” in *Dai papiri della Società Italiana. Omaggio al XX Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Copenhagen 23–29 Agosto 1992* (ed. M. Manfredi; Florence: Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli”, 1992) 3–4.

leaves, there were no doubt other sheets in the codex. The editors comment that, although the contents and format of the sheet of the codex lead one to think of an amulet, the clumsy production could also fit the description of a writing exercise.⁴³ *P.Oxy.* XV 1779, a leaf from a papyrus codex 7.7×11.5 cm, also preserves a few verses of Ps 1, beginning with verse 4 and breaking off in verse 6. The editors note that the hand, which they assign to the fourth century, is informal and large in relation to the size of the sheet.⁴⁴ They offer no suggestion as to the purpose of the leaf, but its size argues against its having been worn as an amulet.

In addition to these items quoting Ps 1, there are those which are not deemed to be amulets: Vienna, AN 26, a small exercise book 10×7 cm, one of whose leaves contains the opening words of Ps 1;⁴⁵ and *P.Laur.* IV 140, a fragment of papyrus with words of Ps 1:1–2 written in a careful uncial hand, thought by its editor to be a scholastic manual on account of the syllabification marks.⁴⁶

These witnesses to the occasional personal use of Ps 1 illustrate several facets of the problem. Clearly, the psalm had a devotional, even beneficial, value that favoured its transcription. But, equally clearly, the types of products in which this devotional or beneficial value was expressed varied from exemplars to exercises to momentos to amulets. Indeed, the boundary between some of these interpretative categories is porous, as indicated by the classification of *P.Taur.* inv. 27. Thus, while in some cases we are probably dealing with an amulet (*P.Grenf.* II 112 (a), *pace* the *editio princeps*) and in other cases such a purpose seems unlikely (*P.Laur.* IV 140), sometimes neither the presence of the psalm, nor the form of the text, nor the interpretative categories at hand permit a definitive judgment. This should give reason for pause in classifying fragmentary texts from the psalms. In the case of Ps 1, as with Ps 90 or the Lord's Prayer,⁴⁷ we are fortunate to have attestations in a variety of applications of the perceived beneficial value of the text. But in the case of other biblical texts, especially from the psalms, we are not so lucky. For that very reason the determination of their purpose in the absence of definitive material indications must remain provisional.

⁴³ *MPER N.S.* XVII, p. 15.

⁴⁴ *P.Oxy.* XV, p. 6.

⁴⁵ Karabacek *et al.*, *Führer durch die Ausstellung*, 5, n. 26; cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 391.

⁴⁶ R. Pintaudi, "Frammento di manuale scolastico (LXX Ps 1, 1–2)," *ZPE* 38 (1980) 259–260.

⁴⁷ For instances of papyri and parchments that incorporate verses from Ps 90 or the Lord's Prayer, but whose identification as an amulet is uncertain or disputed, see Table III.

This brings me to the second node of problems in classifying texts of an ambiguous nature. They concern material aspects that could be interpreted to suggest that the papyrus or parchment was worn or affixed: traces of folds in a sheet, the fragmentary state of a sheet which may be due to folding, or the small size of a leaf or sheet from a codex. Again there is reason for caution.

Let us begin with folding. While traces of folds are commonly found in amulets, they are also found in other types of documents, as John Cook notes in his paper on *P.Yale* I 3 in this volume.⁴⁸ Consider *P.Oxy.* II 209, a sheet of papyrus written with the first seven verses of the Letter to the Romans in a rough uncial hand. Adolf Deissmann suggested that it was copied “very likely for use as an amulet,” noting that the “folds also favour this explanation.”⁴⁹ But recently AnneMarie Luijendijk has argued persuasively that the folds in the sheet are due to its having been included in an archive of folded documents,⁵⁰ as the *editio princeps* observed,⁵¹ and deems it to be a school exercise, as did the *editio princeps*. Therefore, one should not infer merely from the presence of folds that a sheet or leaf inscribed with a biblical text was used as an amulet. We can usefully compare *P.Bingen* 16 and *P.Oxy.* X 1229 in this regard. Both are leaves from a codex and both were folded.⁵² While it is possible that the former may have been used secondarily as an amulet, given its text from the Psalms,⁵³ there is nothing in the text of the latter, which contains verses from the first chapter of James, that would suggest that it had such a secondary use. Other explanations are possible in cases like these.⁵⁴

Similar caution must be exercised when drawing inferences from the fragmentary state of a papyrus. The fragmentation of a sheet of papyrus

⁴⁸ Cook, “*P⁵⁰* and the Question of Its Function” in the present volume.

⁴⁹ A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (trans. R.L.M. Strachan; 1923; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965) 239–240 with 240 n. 1.

⁵⁰ A. Luijendijk, “*P.Oxy.* II 209: An Early Christian School Exercise and Its Archival Context,” paper presented at the 25th International Congress of Papyrology, University of Michigan, July 29 to August 4, 2007.

⁵¹ *P.Oxy.* II, p. 8.

⁵² *P.Bingen* 16 is a parchment leaf of 11.3 × 7.2 cm, originally of about 14 × 13 cm, written with Ps 43:21–24 on the recto and Ps 43:27–Ps 44:1–2 on the verso in a “biblical” uncial hand; it was folded seven times vertically. *P.Oxy.* X 1229 is a papyrus leaf of 11.2 × 12.1 cm, originally of about 11.5 × 20 cm, written in a broad uncial hand with James 1:10–12 on the verso and James 1:15–18 on the recto; it was folded four times vertically.

⁵³ Cf. *P.Bingen*, p. 84, with Römer, “Christliche Texte V 2000–2001,” *APF* 47 (2001) 368, no. 148a, and Förster, “Christliche Texte in magischer Verwendung.”

⁵⁴ See Cook, “*P⁵⁰* and the Question of Its Function” (in the present volume) on *P.Yale* I 3, a papyrus leaf of 8.8 × 13.8 cm, originally from a bifolium of 17.6 × 13.8 cm, written with Acts 8:26–32 and Acts 10:26–31 in a course uncial hand; it was folded across once when the ink was still wet and four times horizontally.

may be due to folding,⁵⁵ and this may increase the plausibility that the sheet was used as an amulet, although, as we have just seen, folding in itself is not a sufficient condition for classifying a text as an amulet. However, one cannot conclude on the basis of fragmentary remains that the original object fits the requirements of an amulet in both size and content. The fragments that constitute *P.Rain.Cent.* 24 are a case in point.⁵⁶ One of the fragments, *P.Vindob.* G 39786, which preserves Ps 9:19–22, was published in 1914 by Carl Wessely as *Stud.Pal.* XV 234. Two further fragments, *P.Vindob.* G 29525 and 30465, which preserve Ps 9:22–25, were published thirty-two years later by Peter Sanz, who described them as the remnant of an amulet.⁵⁷ Over thirty years later these three fragments were re-united in the Vienna collection, and two further discoveries were made, *P.Vindob.* G 30893 and 40405. All five fragments, comprising Ps 9:12–25, were then edited by Kurt Treu, who rightly observed that neither the size nor the contents of the original sheet, now reconstructed, supports its classification as an amulet.⁵⁸

Moreover, one must be cautious with sheets or leaves of so-called “miniature” codices.⁵⁹ We know from Isidore of Pelusium, John Chrysostom, Augustine, and other patristic sources that Christians wore “gospels” around their neck, hung them at their bedside, or used them in other ways for apparently protective purposes.⁶⁰ These authorities are, however, vague about the format of these “gospels”, except to specify in some instances that

⁵⁵ See, e.g., *P.Bod.* I 4, *P.Köln* VIII 336, *P.Vindob.* G 14289, *P.Vindob.* G 38624 + 41738 = *MPER N.S.* XVII 3.

⁵⁶ Kraus, “Amulette als wichtige Zeugnisse,” 431–434, arriving independently at a similar observation, traces the history of the editions of these fragments in greater detail. See also idem, “Reconstructing Fragmentary Manuscripts—Chances and Limitations” (in the present volume) with two transcriptions/reconstructions of the text.

⁵⁷ *MPER N.S.* IV 5. Sanz initially edited *P.Vindob.* G 29525 alone in his doctoral dissertation, where he classified it as an amulet; see Kraus, “Amulette als wichtige Zeugnisse,” 432–433.

⁵⁸ *P.Rain.Cent.*, p. 268. Unfortunately, Treu’s edition was overlooked by Harrauer and Gastgeber, “Bibeltexte im Alltag: Schutzamulette,” 37–38, a catalogue of materials in the Vienna collection that document the use of the Bible by early Christians in Egypt. The catalogue relied only on *MPER N.S.* IV 5 and maintained the categorization of amulet.

⁵⁹ I.e., codices with leaves less than 10 cm in width, as per Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex*, 22, 29–30. On the imprecision of Turner’s category of “miniature codex,” see Kraus, “*P.Oxy.* V 840—Amulett oder Miniaturkodex?,” 494–495 (English translation 57–59). In what follows I have benefited from conversations with Malcolm Choat and Thomas J. Kraus.

⁶⁰ Isidore of Pelusium, *Epist.* 2.150 (PG 78:604); John Chrysostom, *Hom. ad pop.* 19.4 (PG 49:196); idem, *Hom. Matt.* 72.2 (PG 58:669); idem, *Hom. 1 Cor.* 43.4 (PG 61:373); Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 7.12 (PL 35:1443); Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 23.5–6 (PL 26:168). For an overview of the attitudes of Christian authorities to the use of amulets by Christians, see H.F. Stander, “Amulets and the Church Fathers,” *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 75 (1993) 55–66. H. Leclecq, “Amulettes,” *DACL* 1.2 (1905) 1787–1790 conveniently summarizes much of the patristic evidence.

they were “small”.⁶¹ It is unlikely that Christians would have worn complete gospels, even in the form of miniature codices; it is more plausible that they would have worn only one or a few relatively small sheets, as in the case of *P.Oxy.* VIII 1077, where the text of Matthew 4:23–24 is preceded by the heading “Curative Gospel according to Matthew”. In fact, the material remains point in that direction. *P.Vindob.* G 29831, whose dimensions (a sheet of 6.5 × 4.2 cm) fall into the category of a miniature codex, was certainly meant to be worn as an amulet, as the text attests.⁶² It is also likely that *P.Leid.Inst.* 10 and *P.Oxy.* XVII 2065, which also qualify as miniature codices or sheets from miniature codices, were meant to be worn as amulets, given their texts. *P.Leid.Inst.* 10 presents most of Ps 90 on two parchment sheets of a miniature codex; a fifth leaf in the middle, written on both sides and inserted in the middle, would have completed the psalm. The small size of the sheets, the text preserved on the sheets, and the fact that the pages appear to have been folded down the middle make it highly probable, if not certain, that the sheets were worn as an amulet.⁶³ *P.Oxy.* XVII 2065, which preserves the middle verses of Ps 90 on a parchment sheet from a miniature codex (the complete psalm would have fit on two sheets or four leaves), is likewise a good candidate for an amulet, given its text and its size.⁶⁴

But the purposes of such small codices or codex sheets cannot always be securely determined from their texts. *P.Ant.* II 54, a papyrus sheet from a miniature codex with a few verses from the Lord’s Prayer (the original codex may have consisted of two sheets or four leaves), would appear to be a good candidate for an amulet, but scholars do not agree on its purpose.⁶⁵ Indeed, it is puzzling that the writing breaks off in the middle of τὸ (l. τὰ) ὁφειλήμα[τα in verse 12 with space remaining on that page and a blank page following;⁶⁶ the text of the Lord’s Prayer when used in an amulet typically includes the concluding verses 12 and 13 (the latter in particular has

⁶¹ Isidore of Pelusium, *Epist.* 2.150: εὐαγγέλια μικρά; Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 23.5–6: *in parvulis evangelis*.

⁶² See n. 26 above.

⁶³ See *P.Leid.Inst.*, p. 26.

⁶⁴ See *P.Oxy.* XVII, p. 1.

⁶⁵ In *P.Ant.* II, p. 6, J.W. Barnes discounts the idea that a small book might be worn and suggests that the codex was a toy book made for a child. The rather crude hand, among other considerations, inclined C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979) 82, to the view that the codex was an amulet. R.W. Daniel in *P.Leid.Inst.*, p. 26, likewise lists the papyrus as an example of a miniature “codex-amulet”. But R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 273, no. 387, classifies it as a miniature notebook, and Kraus, “Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer,” 234–235, is inclined to agree, noting the inconsistency of letter formation typical of an “evolving hand”.

⁶⁶ Cf. E. Bammel, “A New Text of the Lord’s Prayer,” *ExpTim* 73 (1961) 54.

a protective value).⁶⁷ On the other hand, *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2684, an unusual oblong papyrus codex sheet of 10.6 × 2.9 cm (leaves 5.3 cm wide), presents with Jude 4–5 and 7–8 at first glance an unlikely text for an amulet. Tommy Wasserman, however, has argued for the apotropaic value of Jude and by extension for a short codex containing a portion of the letter, noting, among other considerations, several peculiar readings in the text that would support this interpretation.⁶⁸ Or, to consider a contrary example, H.J.M. Milne registered no hesitations in classifying *P.Lond.Lit.* 239 = PGM II P17—a complete miniature codex, comprising nine parchment leaves of 4.5 × 6.8 cm and preserving a hymn to the Nile, the Constantinopolitan Creed, and Ps 132—as an amulet, presumably because of the format, hand, and orthography.⁶⁹ Yet, Danielle Bonneau considered it more likely to have been a portable prayer book used to lead a responsory invocation for the flooding of the Nile.⁷⁰

All these examples illustrate the uncertainties or possibilities inherent in the features of the material that suggest that a papyrus or parchment could have been worn. We find similar ambiguities when we turn to other material aspects that would suggest that the items under consideration were meant to be used as amulets. For instance, the fact that a biblical text was written on a used piece of papyrus or parchment is capable of different interpretations. Hans Förster, among others, maintains that since amulets were meant to invoke a higher power, they were usually prepared on new material, and that consequently the use of previously written material counts against the likelihood that the biblical text was written for an amulet.⁷¹ Indeed, most of the items in Table I, whose identification as amulets is certain or almost certain, were not written on used material. But there are exceptions. *PSI* VI 719, which is written on the back of a sixth-century protocol,⁷² certainly is an amulet; it exhibits many of the traits of an amulet

⁶⁷ See, e.g., *BGU* III 954 (Matt 6:9–13), *P.Duke* inv. 778 (Matt 6:9–13), *P.Iand.* I 6 (Matt 6:9–13), *P.Köln* IV 171 (Matt 6:12–13), and *P.Schøyen* I 16 (Matt 6:9–13). *P.Princ.* II 107, while certainly an amulet, does not purport to recite the complete text of the Lord's Prayer.

⁶⁸ Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude*, 64–70.

⁶⁹ *P.Lond.Lit.*, p. 200.

⁷⁰ D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil: Divinité égyptienne à travers mille ans d'histoire* (332 av.–641 ap. J.-C.) d'après les auteurs grecs et latins, et les documents des époques ptolémaïque, romaine et byzantine (Paris: Klincksieck, 1964) 412; D. Bonneau, "Les courants d'eau d'Isis (*P. Lond. Lit.* 239)," in *Miscel·lània papirològica Ramon Roca-Puig en el seu vuitantè aniversari* (ed. R. Roca-Puig and S. Janeras; Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1987) 88–96.

⁷¹ H. Förster, "Heilige Namen in heiligen Texten," *Antike Welt* 33 (2002) 321–324 at 321–322; cf. also with regard to *P.Vindob.* L 91, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht* (ed. H. Harrauer and P.J. Sijpesteijn; MPER N.S. XV; Vienna: Hollinek, 1985) 178.

⁷² R. Pintaudi, "Per la datazione di *PSI* VI 719," *AnalPap* 2 (1990) 27–28.

and bears traces of two vertical folds.⁷³ And *P.Vindob.* G 29831, the sheet of a miniature codex with verses from the Gospel of John on one leaf and an amuletic invocation on the other leaf,⁷⁴ may have been written on a discarded page of the gospel.⁷⁵

Still, other interpretations are possible. I think it probable that *P.Berl.* inv. 16158, *P.Oxy.* XVI 1928, *P.Rein.* II 61 = PGM II P22, and *P.Vindob.* G 26034 + 30453, all of which were written on used material, were amulets. In *P.Berl.* inv. 16158, Ode 1:1–2, a text of protective value, is poorly written, enclosed within a border on the back of an account, and folded vertically.⁷⁶ *P.Oxy.* XVI 1928, written on the back of a protocol, presents the first sixteen verses of Ps 90 followed by a reference to the four gospels; it bears traces of folding as well. *P.Rein.* II 61, which manifests traces of previous writing on the recto, has on the verso a cryptic version of Ps 140 consisting of the first word of the short verses as well as the first word of the second half of the long verses, a technique found elsewhere in amulets;⁷⁷ it also has two holes in the upper right hand margin that suggest that it was worn or hung.⁷⁸ *P.Vindob.* G 26034 + 30453, which shows traces of previous writing on the recto of one of the fragments (*P.Vindob.* G 30453),⁷⁹ recites several protective phrases from the Pauline epistles and a protective invocation;⁸⁰ it appears to have been folded.⁸¹ None of these items, however, provide a clear indication of amuletic purpose. Thus their classification as amulets is at best probable.

⁷³ Kraus, "Manuscripts with the *Lord's Prayer*," 246.

⁷⁴ See n. 26 above.

⁷⁵ G.H.R. Horsley, "Reconstructing a Biblical Codex: The Prehistory of M^{PER} n.s. XVII. 10 (*P.Vindob.* G 29 831)," in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (2 vols.; ed. B. Kramer et al.; APF Beiheft 3; Stuttgart/Leipzig: Teubner, 1997) 473–481. Cf. the reservations of Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude*, 58 n. 23.

⁷⁶ K. Treu, "Neue Berliner Septuagintafragmente," *APF* 20 (1970) 43–65 at 50.

⁷⁷ P. Collart, "Un papyrus Reinach inédit: Psaume 140 sur une amulette," *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 208–212, with P. Collart, "Psaumes et amulettes," *Aegyptus* 14 (1934) 463–467.

⁷⁸ Collart, "Un papyrus Reinach inédit," 208–209.

⁷⁹ H. Hunger, "Zwei unbekannte neutestamentliche Papyrusfragmente der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," *Biblos* 8 (1959) 7–12 at 11–12.

⁸⁰ H. Hunger, "Ergänzungen zu zwei neutestamentlichen Papyrusfragmenten der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," *Biblos* 19 (1970) 71–75 at 72–75. Hunger here reunited the two fragments *P.Vindob.* G 26034 + 30453 under the name *P.Vindob.* G 30453.

⁸¹ As viewed on May 21, 2008, the two fragments, measuring 16.5 × 19 cm when reunited, showed traces of three vertical creases (one at the centre 8.0 cm from the left edge, one 3.5 cm from the left edge, one 2.5 cm from the right edge) and one horizontal crease 8.0 cm from the top edge. The bottom half of the area bordered by the right vertical crease and the horizontal crease is missing. Cf. the plate at Hunger, "Ergänzungen," 73, where the image is upside down, however; the bottom right hand corner of the photo is in fact the top left hand corner of the sheet.

In short, when clear indications that an item was meant to be used as an amulet are absent, one must weigh whatever evidence there is, bearing in mind the possibility of other interpretations. Usually, it is a combination of features—such as a text of amuletic value, traces of folds, and the presence of crosses—that tips the balance toward a probable rather than a possible classification. Nevertheless, we are dealing in judgments, not with certainty; hence Tables II and III register hesitation in some cases.⁸²

Ostraca and Tablets

Although this paper has focused so far on the identification of papyri and parchments with biblical texts that were or may have been used as amulets, the picture would not be complete without mentioning similar biblical texts on clay, stone, or wood (ostraca and tablets). Some of the criteria that apply to papyri and parchments also apply to ostraca and tablets, such as the presence of characteristics found in amulets more generally or characteristics specific to the biblical text.⁸³ Thus several ostraca and tablets listed in the tables below bear texts of the Lord's Prayer or Ps 90.⁸⁴ But the material form of ostraca and tablets—wooden boards, pottery shards, stone fragments—and their possible uses—notebook, exercise book, prayer board, amulet, and so on—introduce new considerations.

While a few ostraca and tablets with biblical texts were small enough to be worn on one's body,⁸⁵ the inflexibility and size of most ostraca and tablets rule out this mode of application. Instead, if they were used as amulets, the larger ostraca and tablets were hung, fixed, or displayed. Holes and cords in a wooden board may be evidence of such use, but they may also result from a board having been strung with other boards to form a notebook.⁸⁶ Thus, assessment of the possible use of a tablet with a biblical text often turns on

⁸² See p. 165 below.

⁸³ See p. 149 above.

⁸⁴ The Lord's Prayer: *O.Athens* inv. 12227 = *PGM* II O4; *P.Bad.* IV 60; *T.Louvre* M N D 552B. Ps 90: *P.Gen.* I 6; *SB* I 970 = *PGM* II T2b; *SB* I 2021 = *PGM* II T2a; *SB* I 3573.

⁸⁵ These include the small wooden pendants with a *βοϋς* formula and a reference to Ps 90:1—*SB* I 970 = *PGM* II T2b; *SB* I 2021 = *PGM* II T2a; *SB* I 3573—and Berlin, Private Collection, H. Kortenbeutel = *MPER* N.S. XVIII 196, a small limestone fragment, 5.2 × 4 cm, written with Ps 117:19–20 in Greek and Ps 118:10–11 in Coptic, followed by plea for mercy and the name of the bearer. On the combination of *βοϋς* formulae and Ps 90:1 in the wooden pendants, see now T.J. Kraus, "Βοϋς, Βαινῶωχ und Septuaginta—Psalm 90? Überlegungen zu den sogenannten 'Bous'-Amuletten und dem beliebtesten Bibeltext für apotropäische Zwecke," *ZAC* 11 (2008) 479–491.

⁸⁶ E.g., *T.Louvre* M N D 552B (cf. A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, "Frammenti inediti del Vangelo secondo Matteo" *Aegyptus* 60 [1980] 96–109; Criatore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, 252–253, no. 322; and Kraus, "Manuscripts of the *Lord's Prayer*," 248).

evidence that suggests that the tablet may have formed part of a notebook or an exercise book. This requires, among other things, a close examination of the formation of the letters to determine if they suggest the hand of a learner,⁸⁷ as well as a consideration of other features of the tablet, such as the presence of guidelines or evidence of repeated erasures of text.⁸⁸

To complicate matters, it is always possible that a tablet that was first written for one reason—as a school exercise or for private prayer—might have had secondary use as an amulet. Several of the tablets with biblical texts that appear to have served for exercises or prayers were found buried in tombs.⁸⁹ Though they may have accompanied the body because of their devotional value to the deceased, it is also possible, if not probable, that they did so because of their protective value. Indeed, these aspects of a text are not mutually exclusive.

Towards a Preliminary Classification

On the basis of the criteria and the considerations discussed above, I offer a preliminary classification of papryi, parchments, ostraca, and tablets with biblical texts as certainly, probably, possibly, or not likely amulets in Tables I to IV. In the final column of the tables the numbers 1 to 4 are used to indicate whether the classification of an item as an amulet is certain (1), probable (2), possible (3), or unlikely (4). When the use of a biblical text as an amulet is secondary to its initial purpose, this is indicated. The tables also summarize some of the aspects of the item and its text that contribute to an assessment of its function: the text; the dimensions of the item; the presence of folds, holes, or cords; whether the biblical text was written on one or two sides of the material; whether the material was previously used for another document; the presence of features in the text that increase its probability of being an amulet;⁹⁰ and the presence of crosses, staurograms, or christograms. This information is provided only for convenience; its interpretation requires a consideration of all the aspects of the item as discussed in the literature. For bibliography of editions, revised readings, and other literature, the reader is referred to the catalogues listed in Table V.

⁸⁷ E.g., *P.Bad.* IV 60 (cf. Kraus, “Manuscripts of the *Lord’s Prayer*,” 248–250, and n. 65 above).

⁸⁸ For guidelines see, e.g., *T.Bru.x.*, Musées Royaux, inv. E 6801 = SB XVIII 13323 (cf. Préaux, “Une amulette chrétienne,” 361–370; Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, 213, no. 169; and Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 47). For erasures see, e.g., *P.Mich.* III 164 (cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 7) and *P.Bad.* IV 50 (cf. Kraus, “Manuscripts of the *Lord’s Prayer*,” 250).

⁸⁹ *P.Bad.* IV 60; *P.Bad.* IV 65 + *P.Bad.* V 127.

⁹⁰ See p. 149 above.

In offering this classification I have attempted to respect the principles of an approach to categorization that works from characteristics found in an “ideal” type, but at the same time recognizes that boundaries between categories can be porous.⁹¹ Thus the items included in Table I manifest, for the most part, many of the characteristics typical of an amulet, whereas items included in Tables II and III manifest some or few of the characteristics typical of an amulet. Among the possible purposes of an item listed in Table I, that of an amulet is the most likely, even if another purpose cannot be ruled out completely. Since Table II includes items for which the purpose of an amulet is more likely than other possible purposes, whereas Table III includes items for which other purposes remain equally or more possible than that of an amulet, the boundaries between possible personal uses of a biblical text—amulet? momento? exercise? text for daily prayer?—are more porous for items in Table III than for items in Table II. In addition, because there is a measure of uncertainty in any system of classification working with limited or incomplete information (all the more so when boundaries between categories are porous), one would expect differences of opinion about the applications of individual items, particularly for those included in Table III but sometimes also for those included in Table II. I indicate my own hesitations by classifying an item, for example, as 2(3?). It is not possible to document every nuance of judgment in a table or even in notes to a table. Nevertheless, where significant or divergent information about an item has led to a given judgment, this information is provided in a footnote to the table.

It is my hope that the information provided in the tables, along with the discussion of the criteria used in developing the tables, will provide a convenient point of departure for detailed, comparative consideration of the features of individual items and their purpose(s).⁹²

⁹¹ See pp. 150–151 above.

⁹² For an example of a study using criteria similar to mine to classify a codex whose purpose was disputed, see M.J. Kruger, “P. Oxy. 840: Amulet or Miniature Codex?” *JTS* n.s. 53 (2002) 81–94, incorporated with additions into M.J. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior: An Analysis of P.Oxy. 840 and Its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (TENTS 1; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005) 23–40 (while noting the cautions of Kraus, “P.Oxy. V 840–Amulett oder Miniaturkodex?,” 495–496 [English translation 59–60] about presenting “amulet” and “miniature codex” as mutually exclusive categories).

Table I: Biblical texts that were certainly amulets⁹³

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>BGU</i> III 954 = <i>PGM</i> II P9	Matt 6:9–13; John 1:1; Matt 1:1	VI	pap.	fragment of a sheet	?	yes	yes	1 t 2 b		yes	cross	1
<i>BKT</i> VI 7.1	Ps 90:1; John 1:1–2; Matt 1:1; Mark 1:1; Luke 1:1; Ps 117:6–7; Ps 17:3; Matt 4:23	VI; VI–VII ⁹⁴	parch.	sheet	8.5 × 13.6	yes		1 t 2 b		yes	crosses	1
<i>BKT</i> IX 206 (<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> I 26)	Ps 90:1	V	pap.	sheet	5.2 × 4.2	yes		↓ t 2 b		yes	strgram	1
<i>P.Cair.</i> Cat. 10696 = <i>PGM</i> II P5c	Luke 1:1; Matt 1:1; John 1:1; cf. Ps 21:20–23	V–VI	pap.	sheet	26.4 × 6.4	?		↓ t 2 b		yes	crosses	1

⁹³ The following abbreviations or conventions are used in Tables I to IV. For dates, V–VI = fifth or sixth century; V/VI = late fifth or early sixth century. For materials, pap. = papyrus; parch. = parchment. For sides of writing, t = amuletic or biblical text; ow = other writing (i.e., an unrelated document); b = blank; → = fibres run parallel to the writing; ↓ = fibres run perpendicular to the writing; F = flesh side; H = hair side; 1 = side one (when → ↓ or F H are not known or not applicable); 2 = side two (when → ↓ or F H are not known or not applicable); tc = *transversa charta*; chrgram = christogram; strgram = staurogram; sec. use = secondary use of a text written initially for some other purpose; n.a = not applicable.

⁹⁴ Cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichniss*, 21.

Table I (cont.)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>P.Duk.</i> inv. 778	Ps 90; Ps 91 heading; Matt 6:9-13	VI/VII	pap.	fragments of a sheet	26.8 × 11.5	yes		→ t → t			crosses strgrams	1
<i>P.Gen.</i> I 6	Ps 90:1-7b, 10-13a	VI	wood with wax coating	tablet	17 × 24	n/a	yes	1 ow 2 ow, t	yes		cross strgram	1 ⁹⁵
<i>P.Heid.</i> inv. L 5 = <i>Suppl.Mag.</i> I 36	Ps 15:10; Ps 20:2-7; John 1:1	V or V/VI	pap.	sheet	19.1 × 10.2	?	?	1 t 2 b	yes		cross	1
<i>P.Iand.</i> I 6 = <i>PGM</i> II P17 = <i>P.Giss.Lit.</i> 5.4	Ps. 90:13; Matt 6:9-13; Luke 11:1-2	V-VI	pap.	sheet	30 × 15.5	yes		→ t 2 b	yes		cross	1
<i>P.Köln</i> IV 171	Matt 6:12-13	V	pap.	fragment of a sheet	8.5 × 5.5			→ t 2 b				1
<i>P.Köln</i> VIII 340	John 1:1-11	V-VI	pap.	sheet	fig. a: 3.5 × 15.8; fig. b: 3.4 × 5.1	yes		1 ↓ → t 2 ↓ t	yes		crosses strgrams	1

⁹⁵ The verses of the psalm appear to have been appended to an account for their protective value (*P.Gen.* I, p. 46).

Table I (cont.)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>P.Leid.Inst.</i> 10	Ps 90:1-4c; 7b-9	V	parch.	two sheets of a codex	sheet I: 8 × 5.5; sheet II: 10.3 × 6	yes		p. 1 b pp. 2-4, 7-10 t			strgram	1
<i>P.Oxy.</i> VIII 1077 = PGM II p4	Matt 4:23-24	VI	parch.	sheet	11.1 × 6	yes		1 t 2 b		yes	crosses	1
<i>P.Oxy.</i> VIII 1151 = PGM II p5b	John 1:1-3	V	pap.	sheet	4.4 × 23.4	yes	yes	→ t 2 b		yes	crosses strgram?	1
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXV 4469	Ps 28:7	V	pap.	sheet	5.3 × 15	yes		→ t 2 b		yes	crosses strgram	1
<i>P.Princ.</i> II 107 = <i>Suppl.Mag.</i> I 29	Ps 90:1-2; Matt 6:9-11	IV-V; V-VI ⁹⁶	pap.	sheet	13 × 15.5	yes		↓ t 2b		yes	cross	1
<i>P.Schøyen</i> I 16	Matt 6:9-13; 2 Cor 13:13; Ps 90:1-13	IV-V	pap.	fragments of a sheet	frg. a: 3.9 × 11.7; frg. b: 7.7 × 13 cm; frg. c: 9 × 9.7	yes		↓ t (tc) 2 b			cross	1
<i>PSI</i> VI 719 = PGM II p19	John 1:1; Matt 1:1; John 1:24; Mark 1:1; Luke 1:1; Ps 90:1; Matt 6:9	VI	pap.	sheet	25 × 5.5	yes		→ t ↓ ow	yes		cross strgram?	1

⁹⁶ Cf. *Suppl.Mag.* I, p. 78.

Table I (cont.)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 348	Matt 1:1; Mark 1:1; Luke 1:1; John 1:1; Ps 90 (except vv. 7c, 8)	VI–VII	pap.	sheet	7.5 × 12; originally 8.5–9 × 12			↓ t 2 b				1 (2?)
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 2312 = <i>Stud.Pal.</i> XX 294	Ps 90:1–2; Rom. 12:1–2; John 2:1–2	IV; VI–VII ⁹⁷	pap.	sheet	14.9 × 6	yes		↓ t 2 b		yes		1
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 29831 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. XVII 10	John 1:5–6	VI–VII	parch.	sheet of a codex	6.5 × 4.2 (sheet)	yes	yes	H t F t	? ⁹⁸			1
<i>SB</i> I 970 = <i>PGM</i> II T2b	Ps 90:1	unknown	wood	tablet	3 × 3.8	n/a		1 t 2 t		yes		1
<i>SB</i> I 2021 = <i>PGM</i> II T2a	Ps 90:1	unknown	wood	tablet	3.5 × 5.5 ⁹⁹	n/a		1 t 2 t		yes		1
<i>SB</i> I 3573	Ps 90:1	VII–IX	wood	tablet	2.3 × 4.1	n/a		1 t 2 t		yes		1

⁹⁷ Cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichniss*, 393.
⁹⁸ Cf. Horsley, “Reconstructing a Biblical Codex.”
⁹⁹ Kraus, “Βουϛ, Βαίϛ/ωωϛ und Septuaginta–Psalm 90?,” 483.

Table II: Biblical texts that were probably amulets

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross stauogram christogram	Probability an amulet
Berlin, Private Collection, H. Kortenbeutel = <i>MPER</i> N.S. XVIII 196	Ps 117:19–20 (Greek); Ps 118:10–11 (Coptic)	IV	limestone	shard	5.2 × 4	n/a		1 t 2 t			cross	2
<i>BKT</i> VIII 12	Ps 90:1–6	VII–VIII	parch.	fragment of a sheet	13.2 × 5 (originally 33 × 20)			1 t 2 b				2
<i>BKT</i> VIII 13	Ps 90:1–7, 10–13	VII–VIII	parch.	fragments of a sheet	(originally 8 × 32) ¹⁰⁰			1 t 2 b				2
<i>O.Athens</i> inv. 12227 = <i>PGM</i> II O4 ¹⁰¹	Matt 6:11–13	IV	clay	fragment of a tablet	12 × 13.5 (originally 18.5 × 22.5)	n/a		1 t 2 b			strgram	2
<i>P.Berl.</i> inv. 13977	1 Tim 1:15–16	VII	parch.	sheet	11.5 × 7.5	yes	yes	1 t 2 b			cross	2
<i>P.Berl.</i> inv. 16158	Exod 15:1–2 = Ode 1:1–2	VI–VII	pap.	sheet	13.3 × 9	yes		→ t ↓ ow	yes			2
<i>P.Col.</i> XI 293	Matt 6:4–6, 8–12	V	parch.	fragment of a sheet of a codex	7.1 × 6.2	?	yes ¹⁰²	H t F t				2 ¹⁰³ (sec. use)

¹⁰⁰ *P.Berl.* inv. 3642 is 7 × 13; *P.Berl.* inv. 3639 comprises many fragments.
¹⁰¹ Found in Megara, Greece, but included here for the sake of completeness; cf. n. 9 above.
¹⁰² The parchment is wrinkled and has a small hole at the centre (*P.Col.* XI, plate 1). The hole may not have been used to string a cord, but may have been caused by the wrinkling or other damage.
¹⁰³ Cf. *P.Col.* XI, p. 3, with P. Mirecki, review of T.M. Teeter, *Columbia Papyri XI* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), *BASP* 38 (2001) 135–145 at 135–136. It is more plausible to me that this badly-damaged leaf from a parchment codex written with Matthew 6.4–6 (the introduction to the Lord’s Prayer) and Matthew 6.8–12 (some verses of the Lord’s Prayer) was preserved (and possibly worn) because it contained the Lord’s Prayer than that it is a “random fragment of a damaged book, perhaps a deliberately destroyed book” (Mirecki, 136).

Table II (cont.)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>P.Giss.Univ.</i> IV 34 = <i>P.Giss.</i> <i>Lit.</i> 5.5	Ps 111:1; Ps 73:2	IV	pap.	fragment of a roll	10 × 9			→ t 2 b			crosses	2 ¹⁰⁴
<i>P.Grenf.</i> II 112 (a)	Ps 1:3	VII	parch.	sheet	5.7 × 7.6	yes		1 t 2 b			crosses	2 ¹⁰⁵
<i>P.Köln</i> VIII 336	Matt 6:11–13	VI	pap.	fragment of a sheet	12 × 4	? ¹⁰⁶		→ t 2 b				2 ¹⁰⁷
<i>P.Mich.</i> XV 685	Ps 106:35	VII–VIII	pap.	sheet	9.5 × 4	yes		→ t 2 b				2
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1928	Ps 90:1–16; allusion to the four gospels in the last line	V–VI	pap.	sheet detached from a roll	30 × 21.5	yes ¹⁰⁸		→ ow ↓ t	yes		stigram	2 ¹⁰⁹
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVII 2065	Ps 90:5–10	V–VI	parch.	sheet of a codex (two leaves)	5.7 × 4 (sheet)	yes		H t F t				2

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *P.Giss.Lit.* 5.5, p. 185; Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 133.
¹⁰⁵ Cf. p. 155 above.
¹⁰⁶ The present fragmentary state of the papyrus may be due to folding (*P.Köln* VIII, p. 48).
¹⁰⁷ Cf. Römer, “Christliche Texte [III] (1997–1998),” *APF* 45 (1999) 140, no. 348a.
¹⁰⁸ See the image at www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk.
¹⁰⁹ Cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 301.

Table II (cont.)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIV 2684	Jude 4-5, 7-8	III-IV	pap.	sheet of a codex (two leaves)	10.6 × 2.9 (sheet)	yes	yes	→ t ↓ t				2 (3?) ¹¹⁰
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIV 4406	Matt 27:62-64; Matt 28:2-5	V-VI	pap.	fragment of a leaf of a codex	3.2 × 5.5 (originally 12 × 22)		yes	→ t ↓ t				2 (sec. use)
<i>P.Rein.</i> II 61 = <i>PGM</i> II P22	Ps 140:1-6, 8, 10	VII; VIII ¹¹¹	pap.	sheet	12 × 9.2	yes	yes	→ ow ↓ t	yes			2
<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> I 1 = <i>PGM</i> II P16	Ps 49:1-7	VI	pap.	fragment of a sheet	13 × 8.5	yes		↓ t 2 b				2
<i>P.Ryl.</i> III 461	Ps 3:4-5, 7-8b, 9, 6; Ps 62:2, 4-5a	VI	parch.	fragments of a sheet	various	yes	yes	F t H ow	no ¹¹²			2 ¹¹³
<i>P.Ryl.</i> III 462	Ps 148:9-14; Ps 149; Ps 150	VI-VII	parch.	sheet	7 × 28			F t H ow	? ¹¹⁴	yes	crosses chrgram	2 (3?) ¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Cf. p. 161 above.
¹¹¹ Treu, "Christliche Papyri I," *APF* 19 (1969) 178.
¹¹² The remains of writing on the hair side are in a later hand (*P.Ryl.* III, p. 14).
¹¹³ Cf. *P.Vindob.* G 26166, which also quotes Ps 3 and Ps 62.
¹¹⁴ The few scrawlings on the hair side are not dated (*P.Ryl.* III, p. 16).
¹¹⁵ Cf. *P.Ryl.* III, p. 16, with Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 245.

Table II (cont.)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>PSI</i> inv. 533	Ps 1:1-2	V-VI	pap.	sheet	15 × 14	? ¹¹⁶		→ t, ow 2 ow	? ¹¹⁷			2
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 14289	Ps 40:3-6	VI; VI-VII ¹¹⁸	pap.	fragment of a sheet	8 × 8.5 (originally four times as wide)			→ t 2 b			strgram	2
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 26034 + 30453	2 Cor 10:4; 1 Thess 5:8; Eph 6:16	VI	pap.	fragments of a sheet	16.5 × 19 (both frag- ments)	yes ¹¹⁹		1 ow ¹²⁰ ↓ t	yes	yes	cross	2
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 26166 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. IV 11	Ps 62:2-3; Ps 3:5-6	V-VI	pap.	sheet	9 × 8	yes	yes	↓ t ↓ t				2
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 26786 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. IV 20	Ps 118:155- 160; Ps 3:2-4	V-VI	parch.	sheet in form of two leaves	10.5 × 6.5 (sheet)	yes		F t H t			cross	2
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 27290 A = <i>MPER</i> N.S. IV 23	Ps 2:7; Ps 109:3; Ps 86:2; Ps 86:5; Ps 64:2	VI	pap.	sheet	4.5 × 9.5	yes		→ t ↓ t			chrgram	2

¹¹⁶ Cf. p. 155 above.
¹¹⁷ The *editio princeps* does not rule out that all the writing on the papyrus is by the same hand (Bartoletti, “Papiri inediti,” 176).
¹¹⁸ C.E. Römer, “Psalm 40, 3-6 auf einem Wiener Papyrus (P.Vindob. G 14289),” *ZPE* 114 (1996) 56.
¹¹⁹ Cf. n. 81 above.
¹²⁰ There are traces of writing on the left edge of the recto (Hunger, “Zwei unbekannte neutestamentliche Papyrusfragmente,” 11).

Table II (cont.)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 36114	Hab 3:8-10 = Ode 4	VII	pap.	fragment of a sheet	13.8 × 6.7 (originally approx. twice as wide)	yes ¹²¹		↓ t 2 b				2
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 38624 + 41738 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. XVII 3	Ps 53	VI-VII	pap.	fragments	11.3 × 7.6 (originally approx. 34 cm wide)			↓ t 2 b				2
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 40580	Ps 30:3d-4a	IV-V	pap.	fragment of a sheet	10.1 × 7.1	yes		→ t 2 b				2

¹²¹ In addition to the three horizontal creases mentioned by A. Carlini, “*P.Vindob. G. 36114: Septuaginta, Habacuc 3,8-10, Papiri letterari greci*” (ed. A. Carlini et al.; Pisa: Giardini, 1978) 150, I detected vertical creases at intervals of approximately 2.0 cm.

Table III: Biblical texts that were possibly amulets

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities, inv. I, 451	Ode 1:1–19 = Exod 15:1–19	V–VI	limestone	shard	21.6 × 30.3	n/a		1 t 2 t ¹²²			cross	3
<i>O.Crum</i> VC 1 + Chi-cago, Haskell Oriental Institute MH 1175 + MH 935	Ps 30:2–8 in Greek and Coptic	VII–VII	pottery	fragments	20 × 23.5	n/a		1 t 2 b			crosses	3
<i>O.Eleph. Wagner</i> 165	Ps 91:14–16	V–VI	pottery	fragment	8.5 × 7.5	n/a		1 t 2 ow ¹²³				3 ¹²⁴
<i>O.Medinet Habu</i> 1269	Ps 20:1b–5a	VI–VII	pottery	fragment	9.7 × 5.7	n/a		1 t 2 b				3

¹²² Side 2 was written with Exod 15:11c–19 by a later copyist (Sijpesteijn, “Die Hymne des Moses,” 29–30).
¹²³ The other writing is of a later date (*LDAB* 3261).
¹²⁴ Cf. F. Winter, “Zum Psalmenzitat auf O.Eleph. 165,” *Tyche* 13 (1998) 249–252 with G. Nachtergaeel, “À propos d’un papyrus documentaire et d’un ostracon biblique d’Éléphantine,” *ChrtEg* 73 (1998) 116–120 at 120.

Table III (cont.)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>P.Amh.</i> I 3 (c)	Gen 1:1–5 LXX and Aquila	IV	pap.	fragment of a sheet	23.5 × 20.9			→ ow <i>P.Amh.</i> I 3(b) ↓ t	yes			3
<i>P.Ant.</i> II 54	Matt 6:10–12	III	pap.	sheet from a codex	5.2 × 4	sheet folded to form two leaves		pp. 1–3 t p. 4 b				3
<i>P.Bad.</i> IV 60	Matt 6:9–13	VIII ¹²⁵	wood	tablet	16 × 42	n/a	yes	1 t 2 ow ¹²⁶	yes			3 ¹²⁷ (sec. use)
<i>P.Bad.</i> IV 65 + <i>P.Bad.</i> V 127	Ps 135:1–18, 21–26	VII–VIII	wood	tablet	7.7 × 38	n/a	yes	1 litany 2 t		cross strgram		3 ¹²⁸ (sec. use)
<i>P.Beatty</i> XIV	Ps 31:8–11; IV Ps 26:1–6, 8–14; Ps 2:1–8	IV	pap.	fragments of a sheet from a codex	fig. 1 approx. 2.5 × 4; fig. 2 approx. 4.5 × 12.5			→ t ↓ t				3
<i>P.Berl.</i> inv. 11710	unknown gospel	VI–VII ¹²⁹	pap.	two leaves of a booklet	fig. A 6.5 × 7.5; fig. B 6 × 7.5		yes	→ t ↓ t		strgram		3

¹²⁵ Kraus, “Manuscripts with the *Lord’s Prayer*,” 250.
¹²⁶ The reverse side has names supplemented by epithets (Kraus, “Manuscripts with the *Lord’s Prayer*,” 250).
¹²⁷ The board was found in a tomb (*P.Bad.* IV, p. 47), where it may have had a secondary use as an amulet, regardless of its original use as school text (Kraus, “Manuscripts with the *Lord’s Prayer*,” 250).
¹²⁸ As with *P.Bad.* IV 60, the board was found in a tomb, where it may have had a secondary use as an amulet, regardless of its original purpose.
¹²⁹ D.A. Bertrand, “Papyrus Berlin 11710,” *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 1 (ed. F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain; Paris: Gallimard, 1997) 429.

Table III (cont.)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>P.Bingen</i> 16	Ps 43:21–24, 27; Ps 44:1–2	IV	parch.	sheet from a codex	11.3 × 7.2 (originally 14 × 13)	yes		F t H t				3 ¹³⁰ (sec. use)
<i>P.Bodl.</i> 14	Ps 90:13–16	V–VI ¹³¹ ; VI pap.		fragment of a roll ¹³²	9.1 × 14			↓ t 2 b ¹³³	yes			3 (2?) ¹³⁴
<i>P.Col.</i> XI 294	Ps 150:3b–6	IV; V–VI ¹³⁵	pap.	fragment	6.5 × 10	yes		→ t ↓ litany ¹³⁶				3 ¹³⁷
<i>P.Genova</i> I 2	Ps 114:5–8	V–VI	pap.	fragment of a sheet	12.5 × 8			↓ t 2 ow	?			3 (4?) ¹³⁸
<i>P.Heid. inv.</i> G 1367 + 2259	Ps 80:1–4	V–VI	pap.	fragments of a sheet	10.7 × 2.4			↓ t (tc) 2 b				3
<i>P.Heid. inv.</i> G 2260	Ps 36:25b–26	V–VI	pap.	fragment	2.4 × 4	yes		↓ t 2 b				3

¹³⁰ Secondary use of the sheet as an amulet is suggested by the folds (*P.Bingen*, pp. 80, 84).
¹³¹ Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichniss*, 280.
¹³² Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichniss*, 280.
¹³³ Römer, “Christliche Texte II (1996–1997),” *APF* 44 (1998) 130.
¹³⁴ The dimensions of the papyrus and the absence of folds seem to preclude the papyrus having been worn, but it may have been displayed for protective purposes.
¹³⁵ Römer, “Christliche Texte [III] 1997–1998,” *APF* 45 (1999) 144.
¹³⁶ The papyrus appears to have been saved for the sake of the prayer, which was written later and is complete (*P.Col.* XI, p. 8).
¹³⁷ Cf. *P.Col.* XI, pp. 8, 11, with Mirecki, review of *Columbia Papyri* XI, 138–139.
¹³⁸ Cf. A Traversa, “Alcuni papiri inediti della Collezione Genovese,” *Serta Eusebiana, Miscellanea philologica* (Genova: Istituto di Filologia Classica, 1958) 117–124 at 119–120 and Treu, “Christliche Papyri VI,” *APF* 26 (1978) 153 with *P.Genova* I, p. 6.

Table III (cont.)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>P.Köln</i> IV 168	Ps 16:6b-7a	VI	pap.	fragment of a sheet	9 × 4.5	yes		→ t 2 b				3
<i>P.Köln</i> X 405	Ps 7:4b-10b	VI	pap.	fragment of a sheet	9 × 13			↓ t 2 b				3
<i>P.Laur.</i> IV 141	Ps 90:1-6	V	pap.	fragment of a sheet	26.7 × 14.5			1 → ow, ↓ t 2 → date	? ¹³⁹		strgrams	3
<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 239	Ps 132:1-3	VI-VII	parch.	codex	4.5 × 6.8 per leaf			see note ¹⁴⁰			strgrams	3
<i>P.Med.</i> inv. 71.86c	Ps 148:7-8	IV	pap.	fragment	4 × 2.9			→ ow ↓ t	yes			3
<i>P.Mich.</i> III 136	Ode 5:9 = Isa 26:9-10	VII-VIII	pap.	sheet	11.5 × 9.5	? ¹⁴¹		→ ow ↓ t	yes			3
<i>P.Osl.</i> inv. 1661	Matt 11:25-30; Dan 3:50-55	IV	pap.	fragments from 13 leaves of a codex	6.6 × 5.6 (originally) per leaf			see note ¹⁴²				3 ¹⁴³ (sec. use)

¹³⁹ The psalm may have been appended to the document by the same hand for its protective or beneficial value; cf. R. Pintaudi, "PL III/501: LXX Ps 90, 1-6," *ZPE* 35 (1979) 51 with *P.Gen.* I 6 and *P.Vindob.* G 26205v + 26607v.

¹⁴⁰ The first and last leaves are written on one side only, forming outer covers; the remaining leaves are written on both sides.

¹⁴¹ There may have been horizontal folds under lines 4 and 6 of the text as viewed from the recto.

¹⁴² Except for the first leaf →, which served as a cover, the leaves are written on both sides.

¹⁴³ It is possible that this bilingual lectionary (Greek and Coptic) may have had a secondary use as an amulet, but there is no evidence to exclude other uses; cf. Amundsen, "Christian Papyri from the Oslo Collection," 140.

Table III (cont.)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>P.Rain.</i> <i>Cent.</i> 25 = <i>P.Schoyen</i> I 17	Ps 117:26–27	IV	parch.	fragment of a sheet	4.5 × 5			1 t 2 b				3
<i>P.Ryl.</i> Additional Box I, no. 11	Ps 50:10–12	VI	pap.	fragment of a roll	9.2 × 13.7			↓ t 2 b			crosses	3
<i>P.Ryl.</i> , Additional Box III, sub-gr.1, folder N	Ps 19:7–8	III–IV	pap.	fragment of a roll or sheet	7 × 4			→ t → OW ¹⁴⁴				3
<i>P.Ryl.</i> I 3	Ps 90:5–16	V–VI	pap.	fragment of a sheet	10 × 10.4			1 t 2 b			strgram/ chrgram	3 (2?)
<i>PSI VII 759</i>	Ps 90:1–4	V; VI ¹⁴⁵	pap.	fragment	28 × 20.5			1 ow → t ¹⁴⁶	yes			3
<i>P.Taur.</i> inv. 27	Ps 1:1	IV–V ¹⁴⁷	pap.	sheet	10.5 × 11.3			→ t 2 b			strgram	3 ¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ A single line of cursive writing by a different hand and of a later date (R.A. Kraft and A. Tripolitis, “Some Uncatalogued Papyri of Theological and Other Interest in the John Rylands Library,” *BJRL* 51 (1968) 137–163 at 138–139.

¹⁴⁵ P.Degni, “PSI VII 759,” in *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico* (ed. G. Cavallo et al.; Pap.Flor 30; Florence: Edizioni Gonnelli, 1998) 159, no. 78.

¹⁴⁶ Pintaudi, “PL III/501,” 54.

¹⁴⁷ Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichniss*, 371.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. p. 156 above.

Table III (cont.)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 3080 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. IV 19	Ps 118:122–123, 130–132	VI	parch.	fragment of a leaf of a codex	5.3 × 4			H t F t				3
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 3089 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. XVII 1	Ps 1:3–4; Ps 4:2	VI–VII	parch.	sheet of a codex (two leaves)	7.3 × 5 (sheet)	folded to form two leaves		F t H t			cross	3
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 20541	Ps 9:39–10:3a	VI–VII	pap.	fragment of a sheet	30.1 × 11.1	yes		↓ ow → t	yes			3 ¹⁴⁹
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 29418	Ps 21:19 = Matt 27:35 = John 19:24	VI	pap.	fragment of a roll	1.5–2 × 9			→ t 2 b				3 (4?) ¹⁵⁰
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 29435	Ps 24:15; Ps 49:1–2	V/VI	pap.	fragment of a sheet	13.3 × 19.2			→ t 2 ow	? ¹⁵¹			3

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Förster, “Heilige Namen in heiligen Texten,” 321–324.

¹⁵⁰ The remaining line of text has no obvious amuletic value, but see Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichniss*, 414.

¹⁵¹ There are a few small traces of writing on the upper vertical fibres of the reverse side (R. Pintaudi, “LXX Ps 24, 15; 49, 1–2 in un papiro di Vienna [P. Vindob. G. 29435],” *SacEr* 31 (1989–1990) 357–358 at 358).

Table III (*cont.*)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross stauogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>P. Vindob.</i> G 43283 = <i>MPER N.S.</i> XVII 4	Ps 91:13	VIII	pap.	fragment	14.7 × 6			→ ow, t ↓ ow	yes			3 ¹⁵²
<i>P. Vindob.</i> L Matt 91 = <i>MPER N.S.</i> XV 184	6:11–12	VI; VII/ VII ¹⁵³	pap.	fragment of a sheet	17.5 × 7.5			1 ow → t	yes			3 (4?) ¹⁵⁴
South Salem, Private Collection, A.G. Malloy	Ps 120:1–2b, 5–7; Ps 12:2–3, 5–6; Ps 8:1, 3–4a, 7–8	V–VI	wood	fragment of a tablet	33.5 × 6.5	n/a	yes	1 t 2 t				3
<i>T. Briux.</i> , Musées Royaux, inv. E 6801 = <i>SB</i> XVII 13323	Ps 28:3	VI–VII	wood with white coating	tablet	30 × 12	n/a	yes	1 t 2 ow		yes	cross	3 (4?) ¹⁵⁵
<i>T. Louvre</i> M N D 552B	Matt 6:9	VII	wood	fragment of a tablet	15.5 × 1.8	n/a	yes	1 t 2 t		yes	strgram	3 (2?) ¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Cf. Harrauer and Gastgeber, “Bibeltexte im Alltag: Schutzamulette,” 41.
¹⁵³ J. Gascou, “Sur la date du *Pater Noster* de Vienne: *P. Rain. Unterricht* 184,” (ed. T. Gagos and R.S. Bagnall; ASP 42; Oakville: The American Society of Papyrologists, 2001) 19–23 at 23.
¹⁵⁴ Cf. Kraus, “Manuscripts with the *Lord’s Prayer*,” 247–248, and the literature noted there.
¹⁵⁵ Cf. n. 88 above.
¹⁵⁶ The invocation for help on the verso strengthens the probability that the board had an amuletic function, *pace* Kraus, “Manuscripts of the *Lord’s Prayer*,” 248.

Table IV: Biblical texts that were not likely amulets

Table IV lists only items that at one time have been thought to be amulets, but whose classification as amulets is now deemed unlikely or has in fact been ruled out (e.g., *P.Oxy.* V 840).

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram	Probability an amulet
<i>BKT</i> VIII 17	Job 33:23–24; Job 34:10–15	III	pap.	sheet cut from a roll and used for a codex	24 × 7	folded to form two leaves		→ ow → t	yes			4 ¹⁵⁷
<i>P.Lond.inv.</i> 0507e	Ps 30:14c–18a	IV–V	parch.	fragment	?	?		1 t 2 ?				4 ¹⁵⁸
<i>P.Mich.</i> III 134	Prov 7:3–13	IV–VI	wood coated with wax	tablet	17 × 18	n/a	yes	1 t 2 name				4 ¹⁵⁹
<i>P.Oxy.</i> II 209	Rom 1:1–7	IV	pap.	sheet	25.1 × 19.9	yes		→ t, ow ¹⁶⁰ 2 ow				4 ¹⁶¹
<i>P.Oxy.</i> V 840	uncanonical gospel	IV	parch.	leaf	7.2 × 8.6			F t H t				4 ¹⁶²
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LX 4010	Matt 6:9–13	IV	pap.	sheet (possibly from a roll)	11.5 × 15			→ t 2 b				4 ¹⁶³

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichniss*, 29–31.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichniss*, 216–217.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichniss*, 7.

¹⁶⁰ Two lines in a second hand; on the reverse side two words in the first hand.

¹⁶¹ Cf. p. 158 above.

¹⁶² See now Krüger, *The Gospel of the Savior*, 23–40.

¹⁶³ Cf. *P.Oxy.* LX 4010; A.H. Cadwallader, “An Embolism in the Lord’s Prayer,” in *New Testament Textual Research Update 4* (1996) 81–86, and Kraus, “Manuscripts of the *Lord’s Prayer*,” 238–240.

Table IV (cont.)

Item	Biblical text	Date	Material	Format	Dimensions (w × h, cm)	Folds	Holes or cord	Sides of writing	Used material	Amuletic features	Cross staurogram christogram	Probability an amulet
<i>P.Rain. Cent. 24</i>	Ps 9:12-25	V	pap.	fragments	14.5 × 18.5			→ t 2 b				4
<i>P.Yale I 3</i>	Acts 8:26-32; Acts 10:26-31	IV	pap.	sheet of a codex (two leaves)	17.6 × 13.8	yes	yes	→ t ↓ t				4 ¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Cook, “ Ψ^{so} and the Question of Its Function” (in the present volume).

Table V: References

The following catalogues provide bibliographical information regarding editions, revised readings, and further literature for the items listed in Tables I to IV. The *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/index.php>) and Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, are the most up-to-date of these catalogues; both should be consulted. Rahlfs and Fraenkel also provide detailed descriptions and comments, but only of texts from the Septuagint. (Kraus, “Manuscripts of the *Lord’s Prayer*,” 232–254, provides similarly detailed descriptions and comments on items with all or a portion of Matt 6:9–13.) Aland, *Repertorium I*, and Van Haelst, *Catalogue*, while dated, are still useful. Revised readings included in the *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* (or *BL*) are identified in footnotes below.

Item	Biblical text	LDAB (no.)	Van Haelst (no.)	Rahlfs (no.)	Rahlfs/ Fraenkel (p.)	Aland (no., p.)	Nestle– Aland ²⁶ (p)
Berlin, Private Collection, H. Kortenbeutel = <i>MPER N.S.</i> XVIII 196	Ps 117:19–20; Ps 118:10–11	3187	222	2107	p. 449		
Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities, inv. I, 451 ¹⁶⁵	Ode 1:1–19 = Exod 15:1–19	3276	244	2141	pp. 187–188		
<i>BGU</i> III 954 = <i>PGM</i> II P9	Matt 6:9–13; John 1:1; Matt 1:1	6231 ¹⁶⁶	720			Var 28, p. 352	
<i>BKT</i> VI 7.1	Ps 90:1; John 1:1–2, Matt 1:1; Mark 1:1, Luke 1:1; Ps 117:6–7; Ps 17:3; Matt 4:23	6091	731	2131	p. 21		
<i>BKT</i> VIII 12	Ps 90:1–6	3417	197	2043	pp. 17–18		
<i>BKT</i> VIII 13	Ps 90:1–7, 10–13	3418	199	2062	p. 18		
<i>BKT</i> VIII 17	Job 33:23–24; Job 34:10–15	3099	275	974	pp. 29–30	AT 100, p. 174	
<i>BKT</i> IX 206 (<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> I 26)	Ps 90:1	5937			p. 41		
<i>O.Athens</i> inv. 12227 = <i>PGM</i> II O4	Matt 6:11–13	5594	348				
<i>O.Crum</i> VC 1 + Chicago, Haskell Oriental Institute MH 1175 + MH 935	Ps 30:2–8	3367	132	2072	p. 57		

¹⁶⁵ To avoid confusion with the documentary ostraca published in *O.Leid.*, this ostrakon is listed here by location, institution, and inventory number.
¹⁶⁶ See also the revised reading proposed at *BL* V, p. 14.

Table V (*cont.*)

Item	Biblical text	LDAB (no.)	Van Haelst (no.)	Rahlfs (no.)	Rahlfs/ Fraenkel (p.)	Aland (no., p.)	Nestle– Aland ²⁶ (p.)
<i>O.Eleph.</i> <i>Wagner</i> 165	Ps 91:14–16	3261		2116	pp. 13–14		
<i>O.Medinet</i> <i>Habu</i> 1269	Ps 20:1b–5a	3132	122	2071	pp. 56–57		
<i>P.Amh.</i> I 3 (c)	Gen 1:1–5 LXX and Aquila	3475	3	912	pp. 260–261	Var 35 [NT 12], p. 360	
<i>P.Ant.</i> II 54	Matt 6:10–12	5425	347			Var 29, p. 353	
<i>P.Bad.</i> IV 60	Matt 6:9–13	6662	346				
<i>P.Bad.</i> IV 65 + <i>P.Bad.</i> V 127	Ps 135:1–18, 21–26	3425 ¹⁶⁷	228	2201	pp. 146–147		
<i>P.Beatty</i> XIV	Ps 31:8–11; Ps 26:1–6, 8–14; Ps 2:1–8	3159		2150	pp. 105–106		
<i>P.Berl.</i> inv. 11710	uncanonical gospel	6211	591			Ap 15, p. 377	
<i>P.Berl.</i> inv. 13977	1 Tim 1:15–16	3061	532				
<i>P.Berl.</i> inv. 16158	Exod 15:1–2 = Ode 1:1–2	3358	242	2132	p. 33	Var 1, p. 325	
<i>P.Bingen</i> 16	Ps 43:21–24, 27; Ps 44:1–2	7997		2218	pp. 421–422		
<i>P.Bodl.</i> I 4	Ps 90:13–16	3337	202	2081	p. 280	Var 16, p. 340	
<i>P.Cair.Cat.</i> 10696 = <i>PGM</i> II P5c	Luke 1:1; Matt 1:1; John 1:1; cf. Ps 21:20–23	6096	897		p. 163	Var 26, p. 350	
<i>P.Col.</i> XI 293	Matt 6:4–6, 8–12	2953					
<i>P.Col.</i> XI 294	Ps 150:3b–6	3476		2206	p. 256		
<i>P.Duke</i> inv. 778	Ps 90; Ps 91 heading; Matt 6:9–13; doxology	2992		2199	p. 111		
<i>P.Gen.</i> I 6	Ps 90:1–7b, 10–13a	3318	198	2048	pp. 126–127		
<i>P.Genova</i> I 2	Ps 114:5–8	3272	221	2134	pp. 129–130	AT 85, p. 154	
<i>P.Giss.Univ.</i> IV 34 = <i>P.Giss.</i> <i>Lit.</i> 5.5	Ps 111:1; Ps 73:2	3166	220	2056	p. 133	AT 76, p. 144	
<i>P.Grenf.</i> II 112 (a)	Ps 1:3	3402	88	2024	p. 283		
<i>P.Heid.</i> inv. G 1367 + 2259	Ps 80:1–4	3274		2200	p. 145		

¹⁶⁷ See also the revised readings proposed at *BL* II.2, p. 182.

Table V (*cont.*)

Item	Biblical text	LDAB (no.)	Van Haelst (no.)	Rahlfs (no.)	Rahlfs/ Fraenkel (p.)	Aland (no., p.)	Nestle– Aland ²⁶ (p)
<i>P.Heid.</i> inv. G 2260	Ps 36:25b–26	3275		2203	pp. 147–148		
<i>P.Heid.</i> inv. L 5 = <i>Suppl.Mag.</i> I 36	Ps 15:10; Ps 20:2–7; John 1:1	4221	1213				
<i>P.Iand.</i> I 6 = <i>PGM</i> II P17 = <i>P.Giss.Lit.</i> 5.4	Ps 90:13; Matt 6:9–13; Luke 11:1–2	6107	917		pp. 130–131	Var 30, p. 354	
<i>P.Köln</i> IV 168	Ps 16:6b–7a	3320			pp. 178–179		
<i>P.Köln</i> IV 171	Matt 6:12–13	5971					
<i>P.Köln</i> VIII 336	Matt 6:11–13	6282					
<i>P.Köln</i> VIII 340	John 1:1–11	2813					
<i>P.Köln</i> X 405	Ps 7:4b–10b	10080		2225	p. 180		
<i>P.Laur.</i> IV 141	Ps 90:1–6	3235		2166	pp. 114–115		
<i>P.Leid.Inst.</i> 10	Ps 90:1–4c, 7b–9	3241		2124	p. 189		
<i>P.Lond.</i> inv. 0507e	Ps 30:14c–18a	3204		2139	pp. 216–217		
<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 239 = <i>PGM</i> II P5d	Ps 132:1–3	3369	938	2171	p. 215		
<i>P.Med.</i> inv. 71.86c	Ps 148:7–8	7115		2169	p. 232		
<i>P.Mich.</i> III 134	Prov 7:3–13	3206	255	871	p. 7		
<i>P.Mich.</i> III 136	Ode 5:9 = Isa 26:9–10	3431	245	2155	pp. 7–8	Var 21, Od 5, p. 345	
<i>P.Mich.</i> XV 685	Ps 106:35	3432					
<i>P.Osl.</i> inv. 1661	Matt 11:25–30; Dan 3:50–55	2993	359	994	pp. 270–271	0202, p. 54; AT 151, p. 210; NT 62, p. 291	
<i>P.Oxy.</i> II 209	Rom 1:1–7	3025	490			Var 33 [NT10], pp. 357– 358	Ɀ10
<i>P.Oxy.</i> V 840	uncanonical gospel	5831	585				
<i>P.Oxy.</i> VIII 1077 = <i>PGM</i> II P4	Matt 4:23–24	2959	341				
<i>P.Oxy.</i> VIII 1151 = <i>PGM</i> II P5b	Matt 4:23; John 1:1–3; John 5:2	2802	959			Var 32, p. 356	

Table V (*cont.*)

Item	Biblical text	LDAB (no.)	Van Haelst (no.)	Rahlfs (no.)	Rahlfs/ Fraenkel (p.)	Aland (no., p.)	Nestle– Aland ²⁶ (p)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1928	Ps 90:1–16	3284	183	2106	pp. 301–302	Var 14, p. 338	
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVII 2065	Ps 90:5–10	3285	200	2105	p. 302		
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIV 2684	Jude 4–5, 7–8	2846	558			NT 78, p. 314	Ⓟ78
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LX 4010	Matt 6:9–13	5717					
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIV 4406	Matt 27:62–64; Matt 28:2–5	2957					Ⓟ105
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXV 4469	Ps 28:7	1					
<i>P.Princ.</i> II 107 = <i>Suppl.Mag.</i> I 29	Ps 90:1–2; Matt 6:9–11	5835	967		p. 334		
<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 24	Ps 9:12–25	3295	104, 105	2053, 2086	pp. 416–417, 428–429	AT 49, p. 114; Var 6, p. 330	
<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 25 = <i>P.Schøyen</i> I 17	Ps 117:26–27	3191		2177	p. 444		
<i>P.Rein.</i> II 61 = <i>PGM</i> II P22	Ps 140:1–6, 8, 10	3404	232	2083	pp. 320–321	Var 18, p. 342	
<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> I 1 = <i>PGM</i> II P16	Ps 49:1–7	3343	152	2069	p. 369	Var 10, p. 334	
<i>P.Ryl.</i> , Addi- tional Box I, no. 11	Ps 50:10–12	6302	771	2148	pp. 236–237		
<i>P.Ryl.</i> , Addi- tional Box III, sub-gr.1, folder N	Ps 19:7–8	3142	121	2142	p. 237	AT 56, p. 123	
<i>P.Ryl.</i> I 3	Ps 90:5–16	3279	201	2020	pp. 239–240	Var 15, p. 339	
<i>P.Ryl.</i> III 461	Ps 3:4–5, 7–8b, 9, 6; Ps 62:2, 4–5a	3322	94	2057	pp. 244–245		
<i>P.Ryl.</i> III 462	Ps 148:9–14; Ps 149; Ps 150	3373	240	2058	p. 245		
<i>P.Schøyen</i> I 16	Matt 6:9–13; 2 Cor 13:13; Ps 90:1–13	2994	345	2115	p. 270	Var 27, p. 351	
<i>PSI</i> inv. 533	Ps 1:1–2	3269	85	2133	p. 126	Var 4, p. 328	
<i>PSI</i> VI 719 = <i>PGM</i> II P19	John 1:1; Matt 1:1; John 1:24; Mark 1:1; Luke 1:1; Ps 90:1; Matt 6:9	2767	423	2075	p. 117	Var 31, p. 355	

Table V (*cont.*)

Item	Biblical text	LDAB (no.)	Van Haelst (no.)	Rahlfs (no.)	Rahlfs/ Fraenkel (p.)	Aland (no., p.)	Nestle- Aland ²⁶ (p.)
<i>PSI</i> VII 759	Ps 90:1–4	3232	196	2074	pp. 117–118	AT 80, p. 148	
<i>P.Taur.</i> inv. 27	Ps 1:1	3212	84	2144	p. 371	Var 3, p. 327	
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 348	Matt 1:1; Mark 1:1; Luke 1:1; John 1:1; Ps 90 complete except for vv. 7c, 8	3482		2179	p. 392		
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 2312 = <i>Stud.Pal.</i> XX 294	Ps 90:1–2; Rom 12:1–2; John 2:1–2	3488	195	2031	p. 393	Var 13, p. 337	
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 3080 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. IV 19	Ps 118:122–123; 130–132	3352	225	2101	p. 394		
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 3089 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. XVII 1	Ps 1:3–4; Ps 4:2	3388		2210	p. 395		
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 14289	Ps 40:3–6	3382		2211	p. 397		
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 17087 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. XVII 2	Ps 23:1	3345		2212	p. 398		
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 20541	Ps 9:39–10:3a	3347		2214	pp. 402–403		
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 26034 + 30453	2 Cor 10:4; 1 Thess 5:8; Eph 6:16	3051	515			Var 34, p. 359	
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 26166 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. IV 11	Ps 62:2–3; Ps 3:5–6	3291	160	2093	pp. 409–410	Var 11, p. 335	
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 26786 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. IV 20	Ps 118:155–160; Ps 3:2–4	3292	227	2102	p. 412		
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 27290 A = <i>MPER</i> N.S. IV 23	Ps 2:7; Ps 109:3; Ps 86:2; Ps 86:5; Ps 64:2	3350	93	2085	pp. 412–413	Var 5, p. 329	
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 29418	Ps 21:19 = Matt 27:35 = John 19:24	3351	124	2121	p. 414	Var 7, p. 331	
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 29435	Ps 24:15; Ps 49:1–2	3294		2215	pp. 414–415		
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 29831 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. XVII 10	John 1:5–6	2823					
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 36114	Hab 3:8–10 = Ode 4	3412		2156	pp. 420–421		

Table V (*cont.*)

Item	Biblical text	LDAB (no.)	Van Haelst (no.)	Rahlfs (no.)	Rahlfs/ Fraenkel (p.)	Aland (no., p.)	Nestle- Aland ²⁶ (p)
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 38624 + 41738 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. XVII 3	Ps 53	3391		2217	p. 421		
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 40580	Ps 30:3d-4a	10276		2226	pp. 429-430		
<i>P.Vindob.</i> G 43283 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. XVII 4	Ps 91:13	3446		2221	p. 431		
<i>P.Vindob.</i> L 91 = <i>MPER</i> N.S. XV 184	Matt 6:11-12	6398	1206				
<i>P.Yale</i> I 3	Acts 8:26-32; Acts 10:26-31	2861	482			NT 50, p. 280	ⲡ50
<i>SB</i> I 970 = <i>PGM</i> II T2b	Ps 90:1	3449	193				
<i>SB</i> I 2021 = <i>PGM</i> II T2a	Ps 90:1	3463	194				
<i>SB</i> I 3573	Ps 90:1	3443	192				
South Salem, Private Col- lection, A.G. Malloy	Ps 120:1-2b, 5-7; Ps 12:2-3, 5-6; Ps 8:1, 3-4a, 7-8	3287		2127	pp. 366-367		
<i>T.Bruux.</i> , Musées Royaux, inv. E 6801 = <i>SB</i> XVIII 13323	Ps 28:3	3365	129	2114	p. 47		
<i>T.Louvre</i> M N D 552B	Matt 6:9	6594	349				

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE EGYPTIAN HERMAS: THE SHEPHERD IN EGYPT BEFORE CONSTANTINE

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In surveying non-scriptural Christian manuscripts of the time before Constantine, one work stands out, which is simply referred to as “The Shepherd” (Ὁ Ποιμὴν) by most ancient witnesses, and which is ascribed to a certain Hermas.¹ It is by far the best-attested Christian work except those eventually established as canonical; indeed, in the first few centuries its attestation is considerably better than that of some of the canonical books. This contribution surveys the early manuscripts of Hermas and asks why it was so popular in the early Christian world.

To ask whether Hermas was considered “canonical” in the early Church is the wrong question. This question cannot withstand methodological scrutiny, as the concept of canonicity is debatable and elastic. It is better to simply ask: why were the works of Hermas so popular?

Actually, there should have never been any argument over whether or not the works of Hermas were canonical.² Among our earliest securely datable external witnesses, Tertullian makes clear that the works of Hermas have not been judged canonical by meetings of Christians.³ The reasons

¹ See in general the editions of M. Leutzsch, *Papiasfragmente: Hirt des Hermas* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998) and R. Joly, *Hermas: Le Pasteur. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (SC 53; Paris: Cerf, 1968²); and the commentaries and translations of C. Osiek and H. Koester, *The Shepherd of Hermas: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), and N. Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (KAV 8; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991). The extensive work of A. Carlini over the last 25 years should also be noted; see *Papyrus Bodmer XXXVIII. Erma: Il Pastore (Ia-IIIa visione)* (Cologny-Genève: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1991) (= *P. Bodmer* 38), with his earlier contributions noted at 6. On the text see G. Lusini, “Nouvelles recherches sur le texte du Pasteur d’Hermas,” *Apocrypha* 12 (2001) 79–97. In general see A. Hilshorst, “Hermas,” *RAC* 14 (1988) 682–701.

² See the discussion in J.C. Wilson, *Five problems in the Interpretation of the Shepherd of Hermas: Authorship, Genre, Canonicity, Apocalyptic, and the Absence of the Name “Jesus Christ”* (Lewiston: Mellen Press, 1995) 51–72; Osiek, *Shepherd of Hermas*, 4–7.

³ Rather, it had been “judged among the apocryphal and false (writings) by every council of Churches”, *de pudicitia*, 10.12; he was more charitable in his “Catholic” period, see below at n. 73. For “Gnostic” criticism of the work (if he is the Hermas, “first-born of unrighteousness”, in the *Apoc. Peter* [NHC VII.78.17–19]) see K. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker gegen das kirchliche Christentum: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der*

for this determination are not difficult to see. Despite Origen's attempts to ascribe the works to the Hermas who is sent greetings in Rom 16:14,⁴ it was well known that Hermas did *not* live in the apostolic period. The assertion of the compiler of the Muratorian Canon⁵ that Hermas was the brother of Pius, bishop of Rome, during whose episcopate (c. 130–150?) he wrote his work, surely cannot be correct; nevertheless, it seems certain that he was active in second century Rome.⁶

Yet, by early Christian writers⁷, such as Irenaeus,⁸ Clement of Alexandria,⁹ and Didymus the Blind,¹⁰ Hermas is used *as if* he had the authority of scripture. All cite Hermas in this way; to others, such as Origen and Athanasius, it was at least useful.¹¹ The volume of citations attests to the work's popularity, which is something that the manuscript record reflects.

Nag-Hammadi-Traktate "Apokalypse des Petrus" (NHC VII, 3) und "Testimonium Veritatis" (NHC IX, 3) (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 54–60.

⁴ Origen, *Comm. in Rom.* 10.31; cf. Eusebius *HE* III.3; Jerome, *De vir. Illus.*, x.

⁵ See G.M. Hahneman, "The Muratorian Fragment and the Origins of the New Testament Canon," in *The Canon Debate* (ed. L.M. McDonald and J.A. Sanders; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002) 403–415, citing at 408 at the text and translation and discussing Hermas in the Muratorian Fragment at 412; cf. the fuller discussion in idem, *The Muratorian Fragment and the Development of the Canon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 34–72. The tradition is echoed in the "Chronography of 354 AD" (in the "Liberian Catalogue", *MGH IX, Chronica Minora* I, ed. T. Mommsen [Berlin: Weidemann, 1892] 74), whence it enters the pontifical biographical tradition (see R. Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs* [Liber Pontificalis] [Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000²] 5); see also the pseudo-Tertullianic *Carmen adversus Marcionitas*, 294–295, perhaps of the 5th century (see K. Pollmann, *Das Carmen adversus Marcionitas* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991]).

⁶ He probably wrote in the first half of the century, although others favour a later date. We will not engage further with the question of when Hermas wrote, or who he was: on these questions see Joly, *Hermas: Le Pasteur*, 11–21; Osiek, *Shepherd of Hermas*, 18–28; J.C. Wilson, *Toward a Reassessment of the Shepherd of Hermas: Its Date and Its Pneumatology* (Lewiston: Mellen Biblical Press, 1993) 9–61; idem, Wilson, *Five Problems in the Interpretation of the Shepherd of Hermas*, 3–37.

⁷ On the patristic witnesses to Hermas see Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, 57–71.

⁸ *Adversus Haereses* 4.20.2, citing *Mand.* 1.1.1 as γραφή (cf. Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, 57–61, *inter alia* discussing what Irenaeus meant by the term); see also Eusebius *HE* V.8.7.

⁹ *Strom.* I.17.85; I.29.181; II.1.3; VI.15.131; see Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, 63–64.

¹⁰ See esp. *Comm. Zach.* 86:24–27, and at 4 other locations: see B.D. Ehrman, "The New Testament Canon of Didymus the Blind," *VigChr* 37 (1983) 16 and 21 n. 16.

¹¹ Origen, *Comm. in Rom.* 10.31: "a work which seems to me very useful, and, as I believe, divinely inspired"; he acknowledges contemporary adverse opinions ("seems to be despised by some") at *de princ.* 4.2.4, 21. Athanasius calls it "a most profitable book" (ὀφελιμωτάτης βιβλίου, *de incarn.*, 3.1, ed. Kannengiesser), and he is happy to cite the work in support of his arguments while firmly asserting "it is not of the canon" (μὴ ὄν ἐκ τοῦ κανόνα, *De decret.* 18.3, ed. Opitz); on Athanasius' opinions, along with those of Eusebius, cf. below, p. 202.

The Manuscripts

Jerome's assertion that "among the Latins [the Shepherd] is practically unknown"¹² is certainly false.¹³ Apart from the testimony of Tertullian,¹⁴ the best Latin translation of Hermas' Greek¹⁵ text, the "vulgate" (L¹),¹⁶ stems from the late second or early third century;¹⁷ another Latin translation was made several centuries later.¹⁸ Following the end of antiquity, these translations were all that was known of Hermas until the discovery of a part of a Greek manuscript on Mt Athos in the 1850s. That this came to Leipzig via the master forger Constantine Simonides confused matters for several decades, which was long enough for the text found by Tischendorf at the end of Codex Sinaiticus some few years after the Athos MS surfaced to be published. Thereafter, a steady stream of papyri (see further below) has greatly improved our knowledge of the Greek texts, while versions in Ethiopian,¹⁹

¹² *Apud Latinos paene ignotus est*, *De vir. ill.* 10.

¹³ Even if he speaks of his own day, Augustine seems to know Hermas; possible instances are listed by M. Marin, "Sulla fortuna delle Similitudini III e IV di Erma," *Vetera Christianorum* 19 (1982) 331–340.

¹⁴ See above, n. 3 and below, n. 73. On other early North African testimonies, see A. Kirkland, "The Transmission of the 'Shepherd of Hermas'," *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 1(1990) 134–143, at 137.

¹⁵ On the Latinity of Hermas' Greek, see C.H. Turner, "The *Shepherd* of Hermas and the Problem of its Text," *JTS* (1920) 193–209, at 198 with n. 1.

¹⁶ 16 MSS are described in O. De Gebhardt and A. Harnack, *Hermae Pastor Graece* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1877), xiv–xix; Leutzsch, *Hirt des Hermas*, at 120, reports more than 20. None are older than from the ninth century. First edition (only of part), J. Lefèvre d'Étaples (Faber Stapulensis), *Liber trium vivorum et trium spiritualium virginum* (Paris, 1513); cf. Joly, *Hermas: Le Pasteur*, 63; Turner, "The *Shepherd* of Hermas"; Leutzsch, *Hirt des Hermas*, 120, with nn. 34–37 on 362.

¹⁷ The dating of Turner, "The *Shepherd* of Hermas," 205ff, on the basis of language.

¹⁸ The so-called "Palatine" text (L²), of a translation probably made in Gaul in the fifth century (Carlini, *Papyrus Bodmer XXXVIII*, 33 n. 34). First edited by A. Dressel, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1857; 2nd ed. 1863, incorporating new material on Hermas) 408–571; cf. De Gebhardt and Harnack, *Hermae Pastor Graece*, giving the Palatine text facing the Greek. See now A. Carlini, *Il Pastore di Erma: Versione Palatina* (Firenze: Casa Editrice le Lettere, 1994); cf. Turner, "The *Shepherd* of Hermas," 204–205.

¹⁹ The earliest MS dates back to the 6th century; see A. d'Abbadie, "Hermae Pastor: Aethiopice primum edidit et Aethiopica Latine vertit Antonius de Abbadie," *Abhandlungen der Deutschen morgen-ländischen Gesellschaft* 2.1 (1860) 1–182. Another witness was announced in A. van Lantshoort, "Un second témoin éthiopien du 'Pasteur' d'Hermas," *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 93–95; this codex is described in Lusini, "Nouvelles recherches," 88, cf. 86–90, with recent bibliography.

Georgian,²⁰ Coptic,²¹ and an adaptation into Middle Persian²² have contributed to our knowledge to various degrees. It is from Egypt, however—thanks to well-known climatic conditions—that the greatest amount of early texts of Hermas has come.

Table 1: Hermas in the Papyri from Egypt before the time of Constantine²³

Sigla	Date	Provenance	Material	Format	Contents
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIX 4706	II/III	Oxyrhynchus	p	r	<i>Vis.</i> 3.4.3, 6.6, 9.7, 13.4–4.1.1, 7–9, <i>Man.</i> 2.4–5, 4.1.1.7–9, 3.6, 4.3–4; 5.1.6–7; 6.1.3–5, 7.5, 8.6, 9.7–8; 10 1.1
<i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3528	II/III	Oxyrhynchus	p	c	<i>Sim.</i> 9.20–22
<i>P.Iand.</i> I 4	II/III?	Hermopolis	p	c	<i>Man.</i> 11–12
<i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3527	Early III	Oxyrhynchus	p	c	<i>Sim.</i> 8.4–5
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIX 4705	Early III	Oxyrhynchus	p	r	<i>Vis.</i> 1.1.8–9
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIX 4707	III	Oxyrhynchus	p	c	<i>Sim.</i> 6.3–7.2

²⁰ A Georgian translation (via the intermediary of Arabic) of *Vision* 5 and the *Mandata* survives under the name of Ephrem, see B. Outtier, “La version géorgienne du *Pasteur* d’Hermas,” *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* 67 (1990–91) 211–216.

²¹ See L.-T. Lefort, *Les Pères Apostoliques en copte* (Leuven: Durbecq, 1952 = CSCO 135) 1–31, with description of the MSS and discussion at ii–ix. Three MS are extant: (1) a 4th century papyrus codex containing parts of *Man.* 4 and 5, and *Sim.* 9 in Achmimic (the codex, formerly in Louvain, also contained Exodus and Luke); (2) a 5th century parchment codex in Sahidic (formerly P.Louvain Copte 26, now destroyed) containing *Sim.* 8.5.6–6.4; (3) 14 leaves of a 6th–7th century parchment codex (Paris BN, the Louvre, and the IFAO (Cairo); for full details see Lefort, *Les Pères Apostoliques*, v, adding BN Copte 130² f.114 from E. Lucchesi, “Compléments aux Pères apostoliques en copte,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 99 [1981] 395–408, at 400–404) contains parts of *Man.* 8, 12, and *Sim.* 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9. The Coptic text presents a different numbering in the *Similitudes* (4 in this MS = 3 elsewhere; 5 = 4; 6 = 5.1.1–2.2; 7 = 5.2.2ff; *Sim* 9 carries the title ⲁⲣⲭⲏ). In our Table 4, we adjust the numbers of the books preserved to the traditional order to simplify comparison. Such differences in the order of books can also be witnessed in some earlier Greek texts, and were probably caused by a numbering of *Man.* 12.3.4–6.5 as *Sim.* 1; on the question see P. Henne, “Hermas en Égypte: La tradition manuscrite et l’unité rédactionnelle du *Pasteur*,” *Cr.St.* 11 (1990) 237–256, at 246–251.

²² Turfan fragment M 97, ed.pr. F.W.K. Müller, “Eine Hermas-Stelle in manichäischer Version,” *Sitz. Akad. Berl.* (1905) 1077–1083; see W. Sundermann, “Hermas, The Shepherd of,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (2004) 232–234, with English translation, listing of re-editions, further bibliography, and discussion of the use of the Shepherd in Manichaeism.

²³ For details of each of the texts in this table, see the Catalogue in the Appendix to this article. Literary papyri can of course be dated only palaeographically, and those which have been dated to the early fourth century cannot be precisely assigned to before or after the reign of Constantine (306–337); we include in this list texts dated to the early fourth century and to the late third or early fourth century (III/IV).

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sigla	Date	Provenance	Material	Format	Contents
<i>P.Mich.</i> II.2 129	III ²	Unknown	p	c	<i>Sim.</i> 2.8–9.5
<i>P.Mich.</i> II.2 130	III	Unknown	p	r	<i>Man.</i> 2.6–3.1
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XV 1828	III	Oxyrhynchus	d	c	<i>Sim.</i> 6, 5, 3.
<i>BKT</i> VI.2 1	III/IV	Fayum	p	r	<i>Sim.</i> 2.7–10; 4.2–5
<i>P.Oxy.</i> III 404	III/IV	Oxyrhynchus	p	c	<i>Sim.</i> 10.3.2–4.3

(p = papyrus; d = parchment [derma]; c = codex; r = roll)

In addition, two quotations survive in the papyri. A papyrus codex dated III/IV²⁴ contains a treatise on prophecy which quotes *Man.* 11:9–10 and Matt 22:43.²⁵ A prayer on a sheet of papyrus of similar date²⁶ quotes Isa 40:16; 66:1 and *Man.* 1.1.1.²⁷

Thus, papyrus discoveries have provided further important early witnesses to the text of most of the *Shepherd*.²⁸ Only *Similitude* 1 is now unattested among the papyri. Recent papyrological publications have also clarified the circulation of Hermas in Egypt. Based on earlier discoveries, including particularly *P.Mich.* II.2 129 and Bonner's reconstruction of its original extent, it was thought that the version of the Shepherd which circulated in Egypt did not include *Visions* 1–4, and instead began with *Vision* 5.²⁹ There is much to sustain the theory that *Visions* 1–4 were conceived as separate from the *Mandates* and the *Similitudes*. The change in narrator from the elderly lady-as-Church (*Vis.* 1–4) to the Shepherd himself in the rest of

²⁴ So ed.pr.; E. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, PA.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977) no. 528 (p. 131) suggests "iv or v".

²⁵ *P.Oxy.* I 5; for the identification of the citation see V. Bartlett, "A New Fragment of Hermas," *Athenaeum* 6 (1898) 491; F.C. Conybeare, "A Quotation from 'The Shepherd of Hermas'" *Athenaeum* 9 (1898) 65; and A. von Harnack, *Sitz. Akad. Berl.* (1898) 516–520, who suggested the author was Melito of Sardis. Cf. H. Paulsen, "P.Oxy. 1.5 und die Διαδοχή τῶν Προφητῶν" *NTS* 25 (1978–79) 443–453.

²⁶ *P.Mich. inv.* 6427, ed. M. Gronewald, "Ein liturgischer Papyrus: Gebet und Ode 8. P. Mich. Inv. 6427," *ZPE* 14 (1974) 193–200; a similar formulation is found in the liturgical text from Deir Bala'izah, see C.H. Roberts and B. Capelle, *An Early Euchologium: The Der-Bal-izeh Papyrus Enlarged and Reedited* (Louvain: Bureaux du Muséon, 1949), fol. 1.v.15–17.

²⁷ Note also the appearance of Hermas in the fourth century book catalogue preserved on papyrus in *P.Ashm.inv.* 3 (ed. C.H. Roberts, "Two Oxford Papyri," *ZNTW* 37 [1938] 184–188; cf. R. Otranto *Antiche liste di libri su papiro* [Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2000] 126–128), see I.1 δέρι(α) Ποιμήν, testifying to the presence of a parchment codex of Hermas in this library, alongside Origen and a number of LXX and New Testament books.

²⁸ For details of the parts of Hermas preserved in the various papyrus MSS, see Tables 1 and 3; cf. the synoptic perspective at Table 4.

²⁹ See Henne, "Hermas en Égypte," 242–246.

the work signals this break as much as does the focus of the work.³⁰ With the *Visions* being poorly known in late antique Egypt, it seems more likely that they often circulated separately. P.Bodmer 38 contained only the *Visions*, and P.Oxy. LXIX 4705 is a roll containing *Vis. 1*. A Coptic manuscript of Hermas, which could have contained only the *Mandates* and *Similitudes*, may well have been part of a two volume set, the first of which contained the *Visions* preceded by the Book of Revelation.³¹ Furthermore, the *Visions* were not only known in Egypt (as indeed patristic testimonies prove),³² but one roll (P.Oxy. LXIX 4706) once contained both the *Visions* and the *Mandates*.³³ As most of our papyrus witnesses attest to only a single part of the Shepherd, however, it is also not unlikely that in many cases the parts circulated as separate works.

Among the papyri, Hermas is preserved on a scale usually reserved for the New Testament and LXX. There are 11 papyrus witnesses to the text of Hermas up to the time of Constantine. In the same period, there is a solitary witness to the Gospel of Mark (P.Beatty 1), 6 texts of Luke and only slightly more copies of Matthew (14) and John (17). Hermas is considerably better attested than any other non-scriptural Christian text.³⁴ Into the fourth century, Hermas continues to outstrip Mark; only in the fifth century do we finally have more manuscripts of the second Gospel than the Shepherd.³⁵

³⁰ Cf. Henne, "Hermas en Égypte," 243–244.

³¹ See E. Lucchesi, "Le Pasteur d'Hermas en Copte: Perspective nouvelle," *VigChr* 43 (1989) 393–396, discussing an incomplete manuscript containing Revelations, which is palaeographically identical to the BN etc codex (see above, n. 21).

³² On the citations by Clement and Origen, see Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, 63–65.

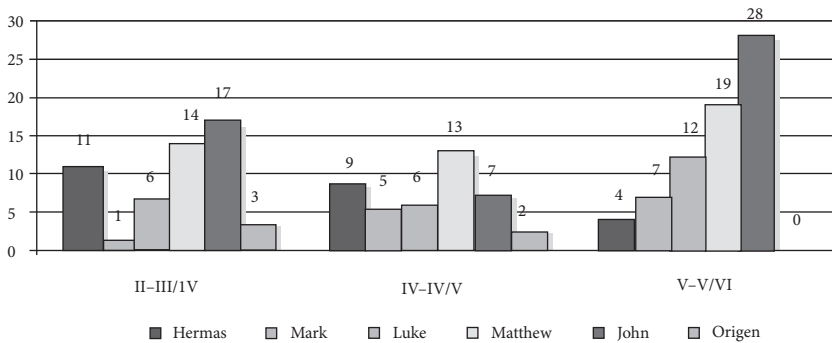
³³ On differing conceptions of what the *Shepherd* constituted see Kirkland, "Transmission."

³⁴ Below, we compare attestations of the works of Origen; in terms of comparable para-scriptural material, there are only two witnesses to the Epistle of Barnabas (Codex Sinaiticus; PSI 7.757), and the Didache (P. Oxy. XV 1782; BL Or 9271, ed. Lefort, *Les Pères Apostoliques*, 32–34).

³⁵ For later MSS of Hermas from Egypt, see Table 3.

Table 2: Papyrus witnesses to Hermas, the Gospels, and Origen, II–V/VI by Century

	II–III/IV	IV–IV/V	V–V/VI
Hermas	11	9	4
Mark	1	5	7
Luke	6	6	12
Matthew	14	13	19
John	17	7	28
Origen	3	2	0



Whether or not Hermas was considered canonical—and the evidence strongly suggests he was not—it was thought worthwhile to include the work in collections of Christian material. A Coptic codex³⁷ included the Shepherd with Luke and Exodus; and the compilers of Codex Sinaiticus clearly felt the works of Hermas had a legitimate place alongside the LXX and New Testament.³⁸ Perhaps less illustratively in regard to its “canonicity”, but revealing in terms of how the work was considered, the *Visions* were included in the prayers, poems and revelations in *P.Bodmer 38*.³⁹

³⁶ Not including *P.Egerton 2* (publication number, not inventory number, i.e. not the non-canonical gospel) and *PSI inv. 2101* (ed. M. Naldini, “Nuovi frammenti origeniani (PSI inv. 2101),” *Prometheus 4* [1978] 97–108; c.f. *idem*, “Ancora sui nuovi frammenti origeniani (PSI inv. 2101),” *Prometheus 6* [1980] 80–82), although there is a good argument for both to be works of Origen.

³⁷ Ed. Lefort, *Les pères apostoliques*, 1–18; cf. *idem*, “Fragments bibliques en dialecte akmimique,” *Muséon 66* (1952) 1–30.

³⁸ Many MSS of the Latin L¹ recension contain the New Testament, see Leutzsch, *Hirt des Hermas*, n. 63 on p. 364.

³⁹ On the nature of the assemblage see Carlini, *P.Bodmer 38*, p. 14.

The early manuscripts may give us a scribal perspective on the perception of the figures in the text, by the form in which the “sacred names” occur. The Christology of the text, in so far as it can be said to have one,⁴⁰ is an object of great discussion. At *Vis.* 2.2.8, Codex Sinaiticus originally read τὸν $\overline{\chi\psi}$; this was corrected by a 12th century hand to $\overline{\kappa\psi}$, the reading of Codex Athos and (in translation) in the Latin MSS. Is this an example of the well-known poor technique of the scribe of this section of Sinaiticus,⁴¹ or did his exemplar have the text talk of “those who deny their Christ” being disenfranchised from their life?⁴²

One might hope that the manuscripts might shed light on the attempts of the various Christian communities to deal with the complex relationships between God, the Spirit, the Son of God, and the various angelic figures in Hermas’ thought, pneumatology and angelology, which are internally inconsistent in the Shepherd.⁴³ The “sacred names” κύριος and θεός are consistently contracted (i.e. written as so-called *nomina sacra*) in almost all the papyrus manuscripts.⁴⁴ In *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4706 θεός is not contracted;⁴⁵ in *P.Mich.* II.2 130 θεῶ appears written out at one point.⁴⁶ There is a single κύριος for the Lord in *P.Bodmer* 38 which is not contracted.⁴⁷ The Shepherd himself, and the revealing angel in *Vis.* 3, are always given the contracted form of κύριος when they are addressed by Hermas. The title κυρία for the woman who provides revelations in *Vis* 1–4, however, is never contracted.⁴⁸ Πνεῦμα is also almost always contracted.⁴⁹ There is little traction here for a contribution to the question of how the various divine figures in the text (not least the Shepherd himself) were regarded by users of the text. The

⁴⁰ Cf. P. Henne, *La christologie chez Clément de Rome et dans le Pasteur d’Hermas* (Fribourg: Editions universitaires, 1992); Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, 485–495.

⁴¹ See below, n. 51.

⁴² Codex Athos reads $\overline{\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omega}$ for the $\overline{\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omega}$ of all other MSS at *Vis* 3.6.6 and $\overline{\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu}$, where other MSS read $\overline{\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu}$ or $\overline{\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\acute{o}\nu}$ at *Sim.* 9.18.1; but these are more certainly scribal errors devoid of significance; cf. Wilson, *Five Problems*, 73–79.

⁴³ Especially in *Sim.* 5, see Henne, *La christologie*, 157–210.

⁴⁴ Thus, providing no additional data on whether the copyists believed Hermas used κύριος to refer to the son of God, cf. Henne, *La christologie*, 260–264.

⁴⁵ $\overline{\theta\epsilon\iota\acute{o}\varsigma}$ (*P.Oxy.* LXIX 4706, fr. 8.1 = *Man.* 2.1.4); it is restored non-contracted at 9 other points; forms of κύριος are restored non-contracted in 5 places. J. Lenaerts, “Un papyrus du Pasteur d’Hermas: *P. Iand.* 1.4,” *CE* 54 (1979) 356–358, restores $\overline{\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon}$ on grounds of space at *P.Iand.* I 4.v.3, although the preserved text shows $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma}$ and $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$.

⁴⁶ *Man.* 2.1.6 (*P.Mich.* II.2 130.7); $\overline{\kappa\psi}$ is restored in a lacuna at the start of I.2 of the fragment, which seems required on the grounds of available space.

⁴⁷ At *Vis.* 3.9.10, but the word is everywhere else contracted in this MS.

⁴⁸ Note also that the name of the angel Thegri, who shuts the mouth of the beast so that it might not bring the great tribulation at *Vis.* 4.2.4, has a supralinear line over it as would a *nomen sacrum* in Codex Sinaiticus (cf. the overlining of names of angels and other powers in ritual (“magical”) texts).

⁴⁹ Sinaiticus inconsistently provides some examples of non-contracted usage.

frequent vacillation among the manuscripts between the words κύριος and θεός is more notable, but whether it has theological significance is not clear.⁵⁰

It is difficult to extrapolate any dominant conception of the text or mode of usage from the surviving papyrus MSS. In terms of production,⁵¹ two copies are on reused rolls,⁵² and are thus more likely to be personal copies.⁵³ The width of the columns of two of the rolls, which is wider than normal, might also suggest production for personal use.⁵⁴ There are moderately well-made copies, with informal yet more practised hands, such as *P.Iand.*

⁵⁰ Compare for example at *Vis.* 1.1.3 *P.Bodmer* 38, ⲕⲱ, where Sinaiticus has ⲑⲱ; at *Vis.* 2.1.3 (Bod: ⲕⲱ; Sin: ⲑⲱ) and *Vis.* 3.9.6 (Bod: ⲑⲱ; Sin: ⲕⲱ; *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4706: ⲕ[ύριον]). See also at *Sim.* 5.1.5 where the ⲕⲱ of *P.Mich.* II.2 129 agrees with *domino* of the Vulgate Latin (L¹) and ⲡⲱⲱⲉⲓⲥ of the Paris (etc) Sahidic text (ed. Lefort, 23.2) against *deo* in the Palatine Latin (L²) text and ⲑⲉⲱ in Codex Athos. See Henne, *La christologie*, 261–263, who gives a partial list of such instances, in the course of rejecting the suggestion of Audet that systematic replacement of θεός with κύριος has taken place in the manuscript tradition.

⁵¹ We will not address here the nature and quality of the actual text of each manuscript, which is exhaustively examined in other studies. It is of course of interest that calligraphic and codex-construction skill does not always go hand in hand with correct orthography, copying technique, and the quality of the exemplar: see for instance Codex Sinaiticus, on whose scribe (in this section scribe B) see D. Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus* (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2007) 22, 248. See also in this regard *P.Oxy.* XIII 1599.

⁵² *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4705; *P. Mich.* II.2 130. On the script of the latter, which has more in common with documentary than literary hands, see A. Carlini, “P. Michigan 130 (inv. 44–H) e il problema dell’unicità di redazione del Pastore di Erma,” *Parola del passato* 208 (1983) 29–37, at 32.

⁵³ Leutzsch, *Hirt des Hermas*, at 364 n. 69 holds the small size of *P.Oxy.* XV 1783 (c. 12/13 high x 9.3 broad cm on the calculations of Turner, *Typology*, no. 527 [p. 131]; the height survives to 6 cm) as a sign of “private use”; cf. M. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior: An Analysis of P.Oxy. 840 and its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) 31–34; C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London: British Academy, 1979) 10–11. To our mind, the association between Christian miniatures and “private use” is as insecure as the “public/ private use” dichotomy is unhelpful; see the discussion of W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004) 159–60, preferring the dichotomy “private”/ “professional” (but cf. below, n. 56). A full study of miniature codices remains necessary before equations between codex size and use-context can be drawn; see T.J. Kraus, “P.Oxy. V 840—Amulet or Miniature Codex? Principal and Additional Remarks on Two Terms,” in *Ad Fontes: Original Manuscripts and their Significance for Studying Early Christianity* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007) 47–67. Leutzsch also cites the judgment of K. Treu in his edition of *P.Berl.inv.* 5104 (“Ein neuer Hermas-Papyrus,” *VigChr* 24 [1970] 34–39, see 37) that this was a private copy, “als der ‘Hirt’ offiziell schon in Verruf war”.

⁵⁴ The columns of *BKT* VI.2 1 are c. 10.5 cm wide, and those of *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4705 may be estimated at c. 11 cm (cf. the description below in the Appendix). Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes*, 101, notes that the normative range for column widths in literary prose texts on papyrus rolls from Oxyrhynchus is 4.3–7.5 cm, with a particular density in the range 4.7–6.9 cm (see 101–109), and suggests that the dominance of these normative ranges presupposes professional book manufacture, with deviation from them as possible evidence for private production (see 157).

I 4, *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4706, *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4707, and *P.Oxy.* III 404.⁵⁵ Beyond that we have well (in some cases beautifully) produced manuscripts, where the training of the hand is matched with expert⁵⁶ codex production, and other features which mark well-made ancient books. In the pre-Constantinian papyri we have *P.Mich.* II.2 129,⁵⁷ *P.Oxy.* XV 1828, *P.Oxy.* L 3527⁵⁸ and *P.Oxy.* L 3528.⁵⁹ Among later witnesses we may compare not only Codex Sinaiticus itself, but *P.Berl.inv.* 13272,⁶⁰ *P.Oxy.* XV 1783,⁶¹ and *P.Oxy.* XIII 1599. Such a spread in production standards is mirrored among other sorts of texts, and little concrete can be drawn from it, except to note that production for personal use seems evident, and that the care taken over some of the manuscripts indicates the value the text had for those who produced them.

The Christian preference for the codex is well known (and still not fully explained).⁶² In this light, it is of no small interest that the relative percentage of rolls to codices is larger in the Hermas papyri than with the New Testament: one third of Pre-Constantinian copies are on rolls vs. less than 3%

⁵⁵ Among later MSS, compare *P.Bodmer* 38 (IV); *P.Oxy.* IX 1172 + L 3526 (IV); *P.Prag.* I 1 (IV–V).

⁵⁶ We use this term in preference to “professional”, as the latter implies a “profession” which is difficult (outside its results) to detect in contemporary evidence. While the subject requires a full study, we here float the hypothesis that “professional” scribes are lurking under other titles, and that many of them are slaves.

⁵⁷ The editor suggested that the scribe (or someone working with him) was working from two copies (see *P.Mich.* II.2 129, p. 16 commenting on 29.18; cf. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 21); and that the scribe may have been trained in “professional letter writing rather than in the copying of books” (14–15).

⁵⁸ Pagination is added by a second hand. Contrary to ed. pr., we believe that these are page numbers, not column numbers, cf. the description below in the Appendix.

⁵⁹ That the pagination is in a separate hand indicated a “professional production” to ed.pr., though see our comments above at n. 56.

⁶⁰ Ed. O. Stegmüller, “Christliche Texte aus der Berliner Papyrussammlung,” *Aeg* 17 (1937) 452–462, at 456–459. The codex is constructed from fine quality parchment and written in a well produced literary hand; there are no corrections or erasures, and *paragraphoi* as well as rough breathings are used.

⁶¹ Ed. pr. described the hand as having a “rather graceful appearance” (*P.Oxy.* XV 1783, Intro.). The parchment is a palimpsest, the lower text which ed. pr. could not identify. We have had no more success in positively identifying the underlying text, which can only be read at a few places, but note that...τον περιεσχισ[θη, ου μονον τω, and και πληρω seen by ed.pr. on the parchment (we cannot confirm all of these, but can see γ δακ) are reminiscent of Melito, *Peri Pascha*, 117ff, Ἀγρυπτον περιεσχισμένην...ἐν πόνοις καὶ πληγαῖς, ἐν δάκρυσιν...οὐ μόνον τῷ σχήματι, and wonder if this was the work erased to make way for Hermas.

⁶² L.W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006) 43–89 provides an up to date summary of the debate. For our part, we tend towards (as does Hurtado, see 73) the suggestion of H. Gamble (*Books and Readers in the Early Church* [New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1995] see 58–65), that an authoritative early text (such as the letters of Paul) in codex form has more to do with the preference than anything inherent to the nature of the codex as a book form.

of NT texts. However, the sample size—only 12—inhibits efforts to draw significance from this, nor are we convinced that differences of format (roll: codex) can be mapped onto perceptions of whether a work was considered ‘scripture’ or not.⁶³

The ascetic content of the work may have prompted its continued copying by those with such leanings.⁶⁴ One Coptic manuscript certainly came from a monastic scriptorium,⁶⁵ and the others are not unlikely to have the same provenance,⁶⁶ but there can be no certainty regarding the ultimate place of copying of the Greek texts from after the rise of monasticism in the fourth century. In any case, such a factor will not operate for the period before Constantine.⁶⁷

The use of the text for catechetical purposes has been frequently noted.⁶⁸ The intended audience moves from beginning to more advanced Christians (i.e. the baptised) as the work progresses. This was remarked upon already by writers in antiquity. Speaking of the Shepherd—after noting that on account of the opposition of some it should not be ‘reckoned to the generally recognised writings’ (οὐκ ἂν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις τεθείη)—, Eusebius says the following:

Others, however, have judged it indispensable, especially to those in need of elementary instruction (ὅφ’ ἐτέρων δὲ ἀναγκαϊότατον οἷς μάλιστα δεῖ στοιχειώσεως εἰσαγωγικῆς, κέκριται). Hence, we know that it has been used

⁶³ Cf. the discussion in Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 53–61.

⁶⁴ B. Bucur, “Observations on the Ascetic Doctrine of the Shepherd of Hermas,” *Studia Monastica* 48 (2006) 7–23. On the important place of the Shepherd in the formation of Pachomius’ ascetic beliefs, P. Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (2nd ed.; Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999) 136–138; a letter attributed to Antony in *Epistula Ammonis* 29 likewise shows the strong influence of Hermas, see S. Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the Making of a Saint* (Minneapolis 1995 Lund: Lund University Press, 1990) 171.

⁶⁵ Paris BN etc (see above, n. 21) is from the White Monastery; it is White Monastery Codex AM in the descriptive scheme of Tito Orlandi (see the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari*, <http://cmcl.let.uniroma1.it/>).

⁶⁶ Note that we do not automatically equate the production of Coptic texts with monastic contexts, and the earliest Coptic (Achemimic) text in particular could have easily been copied outside a monastic environment. For later periods, however, it is not unreasonable to presume a monastic context, given the ultimate origin of so many of our Coptic codices from antiquity.

⁶⁷ By no means do we suggest that Christian asceticism began with monasticism proper, merely that the substantial literary movement capable of influencing the survival rate of texts postdates the period on which we are focusing.

⁶⁸ See e.g. Leutzsch, *Hirt des Hermas*, 123, adducing the frequency of citations in patristic writers and its translation into regional vernaculars as further evidence of catechetical use. Cf. P. Henne, *L’Unité du Pasteur d’Hermas: Tradition et rédaction* (Paris: Gabalda, 1992), who sees the tower vision in *Vis. 3* as particularly addressed to catechumens. On the “participational” language of the work, see Osiek, *Shepherd of Hermas*, 15.

before now in public worship (δεδημοσιευμένον), and some of the earliest writers made use of it as I have discovered.⁶⁹

Athanasius⁷⁰ includes the Shepherd (along with the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobit, and the Didache) in a group of texts of which he says:

there are other books besides these not indeed included in the Canon, but appointed by the Fathers to be read by those who newly join us, and who wish for instruction in the word of godliness.⁷¹

Alongside these testimonies, we may note the title Didymus gives to the work, ὁ βίβλος τῆς κατηχήσεως τῇ Ποιμένι,⁷² and that Tertullian mentions the Shepherd favourably⁷³ in *de oratione*, which is a work that was addressed to a catechetical audience.⁷⁴ The high rate of survival of the Shepherd is in part likely due to its prominent place within the catechetical system at a time, (the third and fourth century) at which the Christian community in Egypt was undergoing rapid expansion.

If this is the case, can we detect any sign of this mode of use in the papyrus texts themselves? First, we must ask what we expect from a “catechetical text” on papyrus. This is a difficult question, but we may perhaps be clearer on what we do *not* expect. Catechetical education was not training in reading and writing; we should not expect to find (and we do not) texts of Hermas that were used as school texts in the sense of writing practice or models for copying. As far as can be observed, Hermas was not part of this educational curriculum; we have both LXX and New Testament texts as writing practice,⁷⁵ but not Hermas. This is not the sort of education that was provided with Hermas.

As the patristic testimonies attest, Hermas was used in catechetical education. This sort of catechetical text is used by the teacher, not the student.

⁶⁹ *Hist.Eccl.* 3.3; trans. G.A. Williamson, revised A. Louth (Harmondworth: Penguin Books, 1989) 66.

⁷⁰ Festal Letter 39 (367 CE). Cf. P. Henne, “Athanase avait-il une version complète du ‘Pasteur d’Herma’?”, *Revue des sciences religieuses* 66 (1992) 69–76.

⁷¹ Trans. A. Robertson, *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers* II.4 (1892): τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον; cf. the Coptic version ΠΕΤΗΔΕΙ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΠΗΡΕ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΟΥΩΥ ΕΤΕΑΒΟ (ed. L.-Th. Lefort, *St. Athanasie: Lettres Festales et pastorales en Copte* [Louvain: Peeters, 1965 = CSCO 150] 19.32).

⁷² *Comm. Zach.* I, 384 (ed. Doutreleau, SC 83–85).

⁷³ Contrast his attitude during his Montanist phase, noted above at 3.

⁷⁴ See *de Oratione* 16; see J. Quasten, *Patrology*, II (Utrecht-Antwerp: Spectrum, 1964) 296–297.

⁷⁵ See S. Bucking, “Christian Educational Texts from Egypt: A Preliminary Inventory,” in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart/Leipzig: Teubner, 1997) 132–138.

The teacher would read the text—if one was used at all—and explain it. The appearance of reading aids on some papyri might support their use in such a didactic context. *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4705 has a mid-point placed in blank spaces between words at several points.⁷⁶ These might be interpreted as aids for reading aloud,⁷⁷ as might be the blank spaces (of varying width) between sentences in *P.Oxy.* L 3527⁷⁸ and the high stops and blank spaces in *P.Oxy.* XIII 1599. However, any text would suffice for an advanced reader, as one would expect most teachers to be.

Thus, a text of Hermas used for catechetical instruction need not be marked in any way, and we will not be able to detect this via the format or production of the text.⁷⁹ Yet, the fact that the Shepherd was a catechetical text inside a catechetical text best explains its dramatic attestation in early Christian world, and the proliferation of manuscripts of it in pre-Constantinian Egypt: as Hermas has the mysteries of the world explained to him, so were they explained to the catechumens.

Table 3: Manuscripts of Hermas from Egypt after the time of Constantine

Manuscript	Language	Date	Provenance	Material	Format	Contents
Codex Sinaiticus ⁸⁰	Greek	IV (330's?)	Sinai	d	c	OT + NT + Ep.Barn + Vis.1– <i>Man.</i> 4.3.6; <i>Sim.</i> 6.7.1– 2.8.14–16, 18.
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XV 1783	Greek	IV ⁸¹	Oxyrhynchus	d	c	<i>Man.</i> 9.2–5
<i>P.Berl.inv.</i> 13272 ⁸²	Greek	IV	Hermopolis	d	c	<i>Sim.</i> 5.1.5–2.2; 5.2.4–2.6
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIII 1599	Greek	IV	Oxyrhynchus	p	c	<i>Sim.</i> 8.6.4–7; 6.8.1–3
<i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3526+ IX 1172	Greek	IV	Oxyrhynchus	p	c	<i>Man.</i> 5.3–6.2; <i>Sim.</i> 2.4–10.

⁷⁶ Ll. 4, 5, 7, 9.

⁷⁷ So the editor, not implausibly.

⁷⁸ V.2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 18, 21, 22; r.27, 29, 36, 40, 43 *bis*, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51.

⁷⁹ The composite codex of which *P.Bodmer* 38 is part has also been suggested to have been produced with catechesis in mind, see Lusini, “Nouvelles recherches,” 81–82.

⁸⁰ There is of course a strong body of opinion which says that this manuscript was produced during Constantine's lifetime, and some that it was not produced in Egypt; we include it in our considerations as the latter question remains open.

⁸¹ Early IV, ed. pr.; IV, Turner, *Typology*, no. 527, p. 131.

⁸² Ed. Stegmüller, “Christliche Texte aus der Berliner Papyrussammlung”; see above, n. 60.

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Manuscript	Language	Date	Provenance	Material	Format	Contents
<i>Louvain s.n.</i> ⁸³	Coptic (Achmimic)	IV	?	p	c	Luke + Exodus + <i>Man.</i> 4.3.5–5.1.4; <i>Sim.</i> 9.1.5–5.5; 9.6.6–7.6; 9.9.5–10.6; 9.11.8–12.5
<i>P.Bodmer</i> 38	Greek	IV/V	Dishna?	p	c	Multiple works ⁸⁴ + <i>Hermas</i> , <i>Vis.</i> 1–3.
<i>P.Hamb.inv.gr.</i> 24 ⁸⁵	Greek	IV/V	?	d	c	<i>Sim.</i> 4.6–7; 5.1.1–5
<i>P.Prag.</i> I 1	Greek	IV/V	?	p	c	<i>Man.</i> 8.9–12, <i>Sim.</i> 7.7.3– 6.1.4 +? unidentified text
<i>P.Louv.Copt.</i> 26	Coptic (Sahidic)	V	?	d	c	<i>Sim.</i> 8.5.6–6.4
<i>P.Berl.inv.</i> 5104 ⁸⁶	Greek	V	Fayum	p	c	<i>Man.</i> 4.4.4, 5.1.2.3–4
<i>P.Harr.</i> I 128	Greek	V	?	p	c	<i>Vis.</i> 5.5–7
<i>P.Amh.Gr.</i> II 190	Greek	V/VI	?	p	c	<i>Vis.</i> , 1.2.2–3.1, 3.12.3, 13.3–4; <i>Man.</i> 12.1.1, 3; <i>Sim.</i> 9.2.1–2, 4–5; 9.12.2–3, 5; 9.17.1, 3–4, 9.30.1–4
<i>BKT</i> IX 163	Greek	VI	?	p	c	<i>Vis.</i> 3.6
<i>BKT</i> VI.2 2	Greek	VI	?	p	c	<i>Sim.</i> 8.1.1–12
Paris, <i>BN Copte</i> 130 etc.	Coptic (Sahidic)	VI–VII	Sohag	d	c	<i>Man.</i> 8.7–12, 12.3.4–4.5; <i>Sim.</i> 2.3–7, 2.7–3.3, 4.8–5.2.2, 5.3.7–4.1, 6.1.4–6, 6.2.1–7, 8.10.3–11.5, 9.3.1–6.1

⁸³ For further details of this and the other two Coptic texts below, see above, n. 21.⁸⁴ Vision of Dorotheos; Address to Abraham; Address to the Just; Praise of Jesus; Sayings of Cain; The Lord to those who suffer; Sayings of Abel; untitled poem; hymn(?).⁸⁵ Ed. C. Schmidt and W. Schubart, *Sitz. Akad. Berl.* 42 (1909) 1077–1081.⁸⁶ Ed. K. Treu, “Ein neuer Hermas-Papyrus,” *VigChr* 24 (1970) 34–39.

Appendix:
*Catalogue of Hermas Papyri from before the time of Constantine*⁸⁷

P.Oxy. LXIX 4706

II/III

Oxyrhynchus

Oxford, Sackler Library, *P.Oxy.inv.* 106/47(a). Ed.pr. N. Gonis (2005). *LDAB* 10575. Image: <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy>.

Papyrus, 27 fragments of a roll (10 unplaced), the largest (fr. 13) 10.2 (H) x 5.1 (B) cm. Original number of columns and dimensions are unknown. Kollesis in fr. 5. c. 22–26 letters per line. Margins: upper at least 0.6, lower 2.8 cm; intercolumnar c. 1 cm. Recto (→): sections of *Vis.* 3, 4; *Man.* 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 survive; probably originally contained whole of *Vis.* and *Man.* Titles before *Vis.* 4 ([ορασις τετ]αρτη, 5.13) and *Mand.* 8 (εντ[ολη ογδοη], 14.6). Informal hand with cursive tendencies (ed.pr.), dated to early III by ed.pr. (not excluding late II), comparing *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2611 (192/93), VIII 1100 (206) and L 3532 (later II). Punctuation: diaresis (ϋμε[ιν, 3.4). One correction, probably by the original scribe acc. ed.pr. *Nomina sacra*: θεός, κύριος, and ἄνθρωπος uncontracted (restored everywhere except 3.1 (κ[ύριον], 8.1 (θε]ός) and 10.5–6 (ἀν]θρώ[πω)). Verso (↓): blank.

P.Oxy. L 3528

II/III

Oxyrhynchus

Oxford, Sackler Library, *P.Oxy.inv.* 39 5^{B.117}/K(1–4)b. Ed. C.H. Roberts (1983). KV 42; *LDAB* 1095. K. Treu *APF* 31 (1985) 63 no. 667a; *New Docs* 5, 141. Plate, *Segno e Testo* 3 (2005) pl. 15b; <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy>.

Papyrus, fragment of a codex, 2.9 (H) x 8.6 (B) cm (9.6 in ed.pr., but see KV p. 306 no. 307). Complete at right on recto, (margin c. 1.8 cm), nearly so at top; broken at left on recto and bottom; pages probably originally c. 19 x 17 cm (cf. Crisci, “I più antichi libri greci,” 121 n. 83). Single column, originally of 35 lines (KV; ed.pr. 38 lines; c.f. discussion at KV pp. 306–307 with nn. 2–3) measuring in its written area c. 18 (H) x 12 (B) cm. →/↓. Recto (→): 3 lines of *Sim.* 9.20.3–4, with p. no. ριθ (119) by a separate hand at the top. Verso (↓): 3 lines of *Sim.* 9.22.1. The codex probably originally held the

⁸⁷ Apart from the standard abbreviations for papyrological sigla (for which see <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>), the following abbreviations are used in the catalogue: VH = J. Van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série “Papyrologie” 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976); KV = K. Aland and H.-U. Rosenbaum, *Repertorium der Griechischen Christlichen Papyri. II. Kirchenväter—Papyri*. Volume I: *Beschreibungen* (PTS 42; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1995); Pack² = R.A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965²); *LDAB* = Leuven Database of Ancient Books (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>); *New Docs* = *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, edd. G. Horsley (vols 1–5; Sydney 1981–1989) and S.R. Llewelyn (vols 6–9; Sydney 1992–1994; Grand Rapids, 1998–2002).

entire works of Hermas (see KV p.308, n. 3; cf. Kirkland, "Transmission," 136). Small, rounded, regular script, "of some elegance" (ed.pr.); dated late II / early III by ed.pr. comparing *P.Oxy.* XLII 3010 (satyric novel, II) and in general P.Beatty II. Punctuation: none. *Nomina Sacra*: Θυ (r.1).

P.Iand. I 4

II/III?

Hermopolis

Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, *P.Iand.inv.* 45. Ed.pr. E. Schaefer (1912); identified independently as Hermas by J. Lenaerts, "Un papyrus du *Pasteur d'Hermas*: *P. Iand.* 1,4," *CE* 54 (1979) 356–358 and M. Gronewald, "Ein erkannter Hermas-Papyrus (*P. Iand.* I 4 = *Hermae Pastor*, Mand. XI 19–21; XII 1, 2–3)," *ZPE* 40 (1980) 53–54; KV 36; *LDAB* 1094; Pack 2846 (as "unidentified prose"); *New Docs* 2, 160, 162; K. Treu *APF* 28 (1982) 93 (no.659a). A. Carlini, "Testimone e testo: il problema della datazione di *P.Iand.* I 4 del Pastore di Erma," *SCO* 42 (1992) 17–30. Plate: *P.Iand.* I, pl.III; *Segno e Testo* 3 (2005) pl. 15a; <http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/piand-inv045recto.jpg>; <http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/piand-inv045verso.jpg>.

Papyrus, remains of the upper section of one page of a codex, 11.5 (H) x 6.5 (B) cm; ↓/→. Broken at bottom and interior edges. Codex originally c. 21.5–22 x 17–18 cm, with a text block of c. 17 x 13 cm. Margins: upper c. 2 cm; outer 3.5 cm. Verso (↓): 13 lines from *Man.* 11.19–21; originally 22 lines on ↓ acc. Lenaerts. Recto(→): 13 lines from *Man.* 12.1, 2–3. Dated IV ed.,pr. and Gronewald; III/IV Lenaerts; II¹ Carlini, following an unpublished paper of P.J. Parsons (also reported by B. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development and Significance* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1987] at 63 n. 36, quoting Parsons *per epist.*, "earlier[...]rather than later" II); accepted by many (e.g. E. Crisci, "I più antichi libri greci: Note bibliologiche e paleografiche su rotoli papiracei del IV–III secolo a.C.," *S&C* 23 [1999] 29–62, at 121 n. 80), but see KV pp. 283–284, n. 1, quoting Carlini *per epist.*, "gli argomenti paleografici sono scivolosi e non consentono di costruire in modo solido". The dating remains difficult, and we mark it with a question mark here. Punctuation: none. *Nomina Sacra*: [αυου] (v.5), αου[υς (r.2); κε (r.9); ανθρ[ώπους uncontracted (r.11); θεου (r.3), πνευμα / πνεύματα (v.1, 11) restored uncontracted.

P.Oxy. L 3527

Early III

Oxyrhynchus

Oxford, Sackler Library. Ed.pr. C.H. Roberts (1983). KV 40; *LDAB* 1098. K.Treu, *APF* 31 (1985) 63 no.666a. *New Docs* 5, 141. Plate: *Segno e Testo* 3 (2005), pl. 17; <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy>.

Papyrus, 3 contiguous fragments of a codex, 19 (H) x 10.5 (B); broken at bottom, where at least 7 lines are lost, thus original height c. 30 cm; complete at top, and perhaps also at left and right. Ed.pr. believed there must have been two columns per page, and that the original measurements were c. 30 x 21, with 2 columns with text blocks of c. 22 x 8.5 cm. Yet, the inside

edge shows no trace of another column, and Turner's Group 8 Aberrant 1 ("much higher than broad") offers a home for a codex of c. 30 (H) by c. 10.5 (B) cm (see also KV p. 302 n. 1). Pagination added by a second hand at top centre, verso $\pi\beta$ (82), recto $\pi\gamma$ (83); ed.pr. believed this was column, rather than page numeration, and that the codex began with *Man.* 4. Our calculations indicate *Man.* 5 is also a good candidate for the beginning of the codex; yet these reckonings only work if there are 81 *single-column* pages: if the columns were two to a page, as ed.pr. suggested, *Vis.* 1—*Sim.* 8.4 would not be anywhere near enough to fill the available space, requiring a further work(s) to have preceded *Vis.* 1. In order to explain the calculated starting point, ed.pr. referred to P.Mich. 2.2.129, which Bonner calculated to begin with *Man.* 4 where the pagination was added (KV p. 302, n. 4 suggests a loss of leaves before pagination in this case too, although such a coincidence seems too far-fetched), but suggested an error in numbering the leaves. We prefer a single-column codex, which probably contained c. 155–160 pages if it held the whole *Similitudes*, and suggest *Vis.* 1—*Man.* 3 (or 4) may have been in a companion codex, perhaps with other works. "Regular and rounded Roman capital with occasional serifs" (ed.pr.), dated early III by comparison with P.Bodmer II (early II) and the Iliad papyrus ed. T.W. Mackay, *BASP* 10 (1973) 59–61 (II). \downarrow/\rightarrow . Verso (\downarrow): 26 lines, *Sim.* 8.4. Recto (\rightarrow): 25 lines, *Sim.* 8.4–5. Punctuation: blank spaces (of varying width) between sentences (v.2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 18, 21, 22; r.27, 29, 36, 40, 43 *bis*, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51); diaeresis over initial *iota* (v.7, r.48). Deletion via supralinear dot at r.35; interlinear correction at v.11. *Nomina sacra*: no opportunity.

P.Oxy. LXIX 4705

Early III

Oxyrhynchus

Oxford, Sackler Library, *P.Oxy.inv.* 102/168(b). Ed.pr. N. Gonis (2005). *LDAB* 10574. Plates: *P.Oxy.* 69, pl. I; <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy>.

Papyrus, fragment of a roll, 8 (H) x 8 (B) cm. broken on all sides. The columns may be estimated to have originally been c. 11 cm wide (3–5 letters are lost at each edge). Verso (\downarrow): 12 lines of *Vis.* 1.1.8–9. Informal round hand, dated early III by ed.pr., comparing in general *P.Oxy.* III.412 (Africanus, *Kestoi*, c. 230–265) and P.Bodmer II (early III). Punctuation: Mid-point in a blank space between words (4, 5, 7, 9); high stop (8); apostrophe indicating elision at 9 ($\alpha\lambda\lambda'$). Correction (3), in a different ink so probably not by the copyist (ed.pr.). *Nomina Sacra*: $\Theta\gamma$ (11). Recto (\rightarrow): unidentified literary text, dated early II by ed.pr.

P.Oxy. LXIX 4707

III

Oxyrhynchus

Oxford, Sackler Library, *P.Oxy.inv.* 34 4B. 73/H(3–5)c + 103/196(a). Ed.pr. N. Gonis (2005). *LDAB* 10576. Images: <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy>.

Papyrus, 3 nearly contiguous fragments from one leaf of a codex, 17.5 (H) x 6 (B) cm; originally c. 32.5 (H) x c. 15 (B) cm. Originally c. 55 lines per page, with a text block of c. 28.5 cm x 11 cm. → / ↓. Complete at top and outer edges. Margins: upper: 1 cm on recto; outer margin of 1.7 cm on verso, probably originally c. 2 cm. Informal smallish upright representative of “Severe Style” (ed.pr.), assigned to III by ed.pr., comparing *Greek Literary Hands* 23a–b. Recto(→): 33 lines, *Sim.* 6.3–5. Verso(↓): 30 lines, *Sim.* 6.5–7.2, with the division between the books marked by a paragraphos and a title, π[αράβολη ζ]. Punctuation: diaeresis over initial iota (r.25, v.22). *Nomina sacra*: θεός (θν, θν̄, θω̄) and κύριος (κν̄, κν̄, κε̄) contracted; ἄνθρωπος uncontracted.

P.Mich. II.2 129

III²

Fayum (Theadelphia?)

Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, *P.Mich.inv.* 917. First noted by C. Bonner, “A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas,” *HTR* 18 (1925) 115–127. Ed.pr. C. Bonner, *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1934). VH 660; KV 38; LDAB 1097; Pack² Patr. 34. Plates: ed.pr. pll. I–V; *Segno e Testo* 3 (2005) pl. 16.

Papyrus, 31 double leaves (of which 6 are relatively intact, 18 are fragmentary, and 7 others survive only as smaller fragments) of a single-quire codex of fine-quality papyrus. Double leaves measure 24.3 (H) x 22.2 (B); original extent estimated by ed.pr. at c. 25 x 22.5–23 cm, with an original page size of c. 25 x c. 11.5 cm; KV estimates c. 27 x 24 cm double leaves and 27 x 12 cm pages. Margins extant (in part) on all sides on many pages (upper c. 2.5; outer c. 3; inner c. 1.25–1.5 (c. 2–3 cm between columns on double leaf); lower c. 3.5 cm), but many pages are much damaged at the edges. Size of text block varies, 19–20 (H) by 7–9 (B) cm; 28–34 lines per page (mostly 30). Pagination [με](first surviving number ξ)-ριθ, 55–119, added later by a second hand in the centre of the upper margin, odd numbers on right hand pages, even on left, except for 59–60, where a mistake seems to have occurred. → ↓ to the centre of the codex, thereafter ↓ →. Centre double leaf (→ →) paginated [86]–87; a double leaf has been lost, resulting in a lost leaf in the first (pp. 61–62) and second half (pp. 117–118) of the codex. Preserved pages contain *Sim.* 2.8–9.5; available pages according to the pagination would allow the codex to have begun with *Man.* 4, but ed.pr. hypothesised that 6 leaves / 11–12 pages at the start of the codex were lost before the present pagination was added; this would have sufficed to contain *Vis.* 5–*Man.* 3. Thus, the codex would originally have begun with *Vis.* 5; 26 leaves / 52 pages must have also been lost at the end (see KV, p. 290). Therefore, the codex contained 43 sheets / 172 pages at the time of the page numbering was added, and originally c. 50 double leaves / 200 pages (cf. KV, pp. 290–291). “Fairly large, well-formed, moderately sloping uncial”

(ed.pr.), dated III² by ed.pr. (revising his earlier opinion of “not later than 250”); late III Turner, *Typology*, no. 529, p.131. Several corrections by the first hand (29.18, 38.1, 39.24); others (including interlinear insertions) by a second (6.8, 34.24, 38.12, 41.3, 46.21); marginal glosses at 18.21, 22 may be by the second hand. A third hand has later “retraced” letters on some pages; the paginator is probably a fourth scribe. Punctuation: high point; pauses occasionally marked by spaces. *Paragraphoi* mark the end of *Similitudes*, and pauses at 46.3 and 50.3. Rough breathing is often used, but irregularly, over ὅς, εἰς ἐξ and occasionally elsewhere. Diaeresis usually over initial iota, less frequently over initial upsilon; υῖον and υῖω both occur (5.2, 11); see also συνῖε (12.16), ανβεβηκυῖαν (58.8). Apostrophe to mark elision at 52.3 and 61.14. A small sign (^N) made by the first hand at 18.6 marks a marginal note ([ἡ ποιμ]ήν, explaining αὐτόν), which is entered by the second hand. Remains of a Coptic gloss (ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲉῖ [†ⲙⲓⲛⲉⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲟϥ?], on τῶν τοιούτων οὖν ὁ θάνατος, *Sim.* 6.2.3) in the margin at 20.28–30 (see Lefort, CSCO 136, 18 n. 44); possibly also at 21.20 (ⲡⲉⲧ[ⲱⲟⲟⲓ? Lefort, CSCO 136, 18 n. 45);] το|]τον in the left margin at 22. 7–8 might be the remains of ⲡ|]τον (Lefort, CSCO 136, 19 n. 47), but if so would be displaced: ἀνάπανυσιν comes at 22.14–15. Titles precede each *Similitude* where they survive (παραβ[ο]λη γ’, ἀλλη παραβολη [δ, ἀλλη παραβολη ε, παραβολη (7), η]). *Nomina Sacra*: κύριος (κ̅ε, κ̅υ, κ̅ου [33.10, *Sim.* 8.8.1], κ̅ς, κ̅ω, κ̅ν); θεός (θ̅ν, θ̅υ, θ̅ω); υἱος (υ̅ν); πνεῦμα (π̅ν̅, for both πνεῦμα and πνεύματα; π̅ν̅ς for πνεύματος), occasionally without supralineation. ἄνθρωπος, οὐρανόν uncontracted; υἱός also occurs uncontracted.

P.Mich. II.2 130

III

Fayum

Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, *P.Mich.inv.* 44–H. Ed.pr. C. Bonner, “A New Fragment of the Shepherd of Hermas (Michigan Papyrus 44–H),” *HTR* 20 (1927) 105–116; idem, *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1934) 129–136; A. Carlini, “P. Michigan 130 (inv. 44–H) e il problema dell’unicità di redazione del Pastore di Erma,” *Parola del passato* 208 (1983) 29–37, reproducing the text at 32–33. VH 657; KV34; LDAB 1096. K. Treu, *APF* 32 (1986) 90. Plates: *HTR* 20 (1927), pl. I,II.

Papyrus, fragment of a roll, 12.1 (H) x 8.7 (B) cm. Broken at left, right, and bottom; upper margin extant in col. 1. Verso (↓): remains of 2 columns, which were probably c. 28 lines long. Col. i is 16 lines, largely preserved in their width except for 3–5 letters at the left, *Man.* 2.6–3.1 with the title [τρῖτη?] ε[ν]τολη at 15; of the second only the first 1–2 letters of 6 lines (presumably from *Man.* 3.2, but difficult to reconstruct) survive. Irregular upright semicursive (Bonner), assigned by him (on Hunt’s advice) to late II; so too, Carlini, “P. Michigan 130,” 31 and VH; LDAB III; KV IV (278 n. 3). Punctuation: a short horizontal stroke serves as acute (3), smooth breathing

or grave (4), and rough breathing (5 *bis*, 7, 10, 11). A low point separates concurrent vowels (?) at 7 (θεω.ως) and 12 ([απλο]τητι.ευρεθη). *Nomina sacra*: θεῶ uncontracted at i.7; [κῡ] restored at i.2 on grounds of line length; [πῡ] and [κῡ] restored by ed. in col. ii, but restorations are uncertain. Recto: (→): unpublished land register (“the ends of some entries regarding the size of different traits of land”, Bonner) (Fayum, third quarter II).

P.Oxy. XV 1828

III

Oxyrhynchus

Oxford, Sackler Library. Ed.pr. B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt (1922). VH 665; *LDAB* 1099; Pack² *Patr.* 39. Identified as Hermas by S.G. Mercati, “Passo del Pastore di Erma riconosciuto nel pap. Oxy. 1828,” *Biblica* 6 (1925) 336–338. Images: <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy>.

Parchment, fragment of a codex leaf, broken on all sides, 2.9 (H) x 4.9(B) cm. Suggested to be from the same codex as *P.Oxy.* XV 1783 by Mercati, reported by VH and *LDAB*; but *P.Oxy.* XV 1783 (now Glasgow University Library MS Gen 1026/22) is written in a round upright hand, which differs both in general appearance and individual letter formation from the well-formed small sloping uncials of *P.Oxy.* XV 1828; while the letters are of similar height (c. 2 mm) 1783 has a more generous interlinear space (c. 4 mm vs c. 2 mm in 1828). The parchment of 1828 is also much darker than that of 1783, nor is 1828 a palimpsest: they do not come from the same codex. Dated III by ed.pr. Flesh: 6 lines, *Sim.* 6.5.3. Hair: 6 lines, *Sim.* 6.5.5. Punctuation: none. *Nomina Sacra*: No opportunity.

BKT VI.2 1

III/IV

Fayum

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, P. 5513. Ed.pr. H. Diels and A. Harnack, “Über einen Berliner Papyrus des Pastor Hermas,” *Sitz. Akad. Berl* (1891) 427–431; A. Ehrhard, “Die Berliner Hermas-Fragmente auf Papyrus,” *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift* 74 (1892) 294–304; C. Schmidt/ W. Schubart, *BKT* II.2 1 (1910); C. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus*, 2 (= *Patr.Or.* 18.3; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1924) 468–471. VH 662; KV 37; *LDAB* 1100. Plates: U.Wilcken, *Tafeln zur älteren griechischen Paläographie* (Leipzig/Berlin: Giesecke & Devrient, 1891) Taf. III; R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* II.2 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1970) pl.XXIII.46; *Segno e Testo* 3 (2005) pl. 3.

Papyrus, 2 contiguous fragments of a roll, 18 (H) x 15 (B) cm; original height c. 30–32 cm (KV p. 287, n. 3). Broken at the top, left (although left edge of col. i survives at ll. 4–8, 16–30) and right; bottom margin extant (2.7 cm in col. i; 1.7 in col. ii, where the text is two lines longer); intercolumnar: c. 2 cm. Two columns, originally of c. 50 lines (assuming *Sim.* 3 stood at the top of col. ii; see KV p. 287 n. 3; cf. Henne, “Hermas en Égypte,” 250–251), c. 25 cm high (smaller if *Sim.* 4 followed directly from *Sim.* 2, as thought by some, see KV p. 287 n. 3); c. 10.5 cm wide: col. i, 30 lines, containing *Sim.* 2.7–10; col. ii, extant only to c. 5 letters at the left of the col., 24 lines,

Sim. 4.2–5. Uncial script, dated III by Schmidt and Schubart, Wessely, and Seider; III/IV Ehrhard; “V at the latest” ed.pr.; cf. KV, p. 228 n. 5. Punctuation: none, but a short space in col. ii marks the division between *Sim* 2.7 and 8; a *paragraphos* at the foot of col. i reported by Seider is not obvious on the photograph, see KV p. 286. *Nomina sacra*: θεός (θϽ, θ̄ω), κύριος (κ̄ν, κ̄ω); ἄνθρωπος uncontracted. Verso: blank.

P.Oxy. III 404

III/IV

Oxyrhynchus

Oxford, Sackler Library. Ed.pr. B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt (1903); Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus*, 1 (= *Patr.Or* 4.2; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1946), 195–198. VH 668; KV 43; *LDAB* 1101; Pack² *Patr.* 42. *New Docs* 2, 159. Plate: (of fragment c) *P.Oxy.* III, pl. IV.

Papyrus, 3 fragments of one leaf from one page of a codex, the largest (c), 7.8 (H) x 5.3 (B) cm; (a) is 3.8 (H) x 2.6 (B) cm; (b) 3.5 (H) x 1.7 (B) cm. One line is lost between fr. (a) + (b), which are virtually contiguous, and (c). (a) and (b) broken on all sides; (c) preserves the original ends of the lines at right on the recto. Sloping uncial hand, dated III/IV by ed.pr; so too, Turner, *Typology*, no. 536 (p. 132). Recto (→): 22 lines, *Sim.* 10.3,3–5. Verso (↓): 23 lines, much abraded and barely readable, *Sim.* 10.4.3–4. Punctuation: none. *Nomina sacra*: κύριος (κ̄ω, [κ̄ε]), θεός (θ̄ν).

CHAPTER NINE

THE BABATHA ARCHIVE, THE EGYPTIAN PAPYRI AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR STUDY OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT

Stanley E. Porter

1. *Introduction*

There have been numerous studies of the papyri and their relation to the Greek of the New Testament, beginning with the earliest observations by such scholars as Adolf Deissmann and James Hope Moulton, and continuing up to the present, with such works as the *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* series.¹ The relationship of the Greek of the papyri, the vast majority of which originated in Egypt, and the Greek of the New Testament, has continued to be a question of not insignificant debate. This debate in some ways mirrors the debate over the nature of the Greek of the New Testament itself. There are those who at one time thought that, because the Greek New Testament was observed to be significantly different from the Greek of the classical period, this Greek was some form of special or even Holy Ghost inspired Greek. Others thought that it was a Greek that had come under the direct influence of Semitic languages, either Aramaic and/or Hebrew, and thus reflected Semitic interference, or possibly constituted a form of translation from a Semitic *Vorlage* into Greek. Others thought that the Greek of the New Testament was nothing other than the koine Greek of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and thus consistent with the Greek to be found in the papyri from Egypt.² In this paper, I wish to extend the discussion regarding the nature of the Greek of the New Testament by drawing into the discussion not only the Greek of Egyptian papyri, but the Greek of papyri discovered in the Judean Desert, in particular the Babatha archive. On the basis of comparison of a variety of syntactical features in two corpora of Greek papyri documents with the Greek of the New

¹ I have chronicled this debate in S.E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood* (New York: Lang, 1989) 50–65, 111–156.

² Representative statements regarding these positions are found in S.E. Porter, ed., *The Language of the New Testament: Classic Essays* (JSNTSup 60; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990). Research continues into this topic. A recent conspectus of opinion is found in M. Reiser, *Sprache und literarische Formen des Neuen Testaments* (UTB 2197; Paderborn: Schöningh, 2001) 2–90.

Testament, I will attempt to draw some observations regarding the nature of the Greek found in these documents.

2. *Greek Papyri of Egypt and the Roman East*

A number of significant archives of papyri have been found, several of which have relevance for the study of the New Testament. One of the most important of these is the Zenon archive. The Zenon archive, dating to the Ptolemaic period (c. 282–246 B.C., during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus), is the largest of all of the archives of papyri discovered (it was probably originally discovered in the ruined village of Philadelphia in the Arsinoite nome), and contains the correspondence and documents of Zenon, who was the business manager and land-manager of a huge estate for an absentee landlord and government functionary in Alexandria named Apollonius.³ Another large archive of potentially over 1000 papyri (450 have been published) is that of Heroninos, discovered in Theadelphia also in the Arsinoite nome. These documents date to the third century A.D., and concern the estate of an important and wealthy Alexandrian by the name of Aurelius Appianus, for whom Heroninos was his estate manager.⁴ These archives are very important and, along with the thousands of other papyri discovered in Egypt, offer numerous and varied insights into the New Testament.

There have also been a number of papyri found outside of Egypt, in particular in the eastern Mediterranean, which have relevance for study of the New Testament.⁵ Especially important are those found in the Judean Desert. The Babatha archive, to which I will return below for further description, is probably the most important archive of Greek documents from the Judean

³ See R. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London: Routledge, 1995) 27, 48. Recent studies of the Zenon papyri include C. Orrieux, *Les papyrus de Zenon: L'horizon d'un grec en Egypte au III^e siècle avant J.C.* (Paris: Macula, 1983); W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe, *Zenon, un homme d'affaires Grec à l'ombre des pyramides* (Louvain: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 1995). For a study drawing on the Zenon papyri for New Testament study, with relevant antecedent literature, see C.A. Evans, "God's Vineyard and its Caretakers," in his *Jesus and his Contemporaries: Comparative Studies* (AGJU 25; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 381–406 (basic facts on 383–384).

⁴ See Bagnall, *Reading Papyri*, 45–48, esp. 45–46 for basic facts. The major study of this archive is D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century AD Egypt: The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁵ See H.M. Cotton, W.E.H. Cockle, and F.G.B. Millar, "The Papyrology of the Roman Near East: A Survey," *Journal of Roman Studies* 85 (1995) 214–235, which records around 400 Greek papyrus documents found in the eastern Mediterranean area.

Desert.⁶ However, there are other important collections of documents as well.⁷ These include the documents from Wadi Murabba'at, which, besides documents in Hebrew, Aramaic, Latin and Arabic, include texts in Greek, mostly undated and probably documentary accounts.⁸ A third important, though small, collection of documents is the collection of Greek texts from Masada.⁹ There are also several smaller archives or individual documents that are important. One of these is the Salome Komaise archive, an archive of six financial documents roughly contemporary with those of the Babatha archive, and containing financial documents related to Salome Komaise, a woman from Mahoza in Nabatea, and written between A.D. 125 and 131.¹⁰ Others include the Bar Kokhba letters discovered in the so-called Cave of Letters near the Dead Sea (especially *P. Yadin* *52).¹¹

The Babatha archive was also found in the Cave of Letters.¹² The documents were found in a leather purse that had been wrapped in a sack and then tied up with ropes. The papyri were generally gathered together by common subject, with some of them tied up together and others simply next to each other (possibly once bound together by what is now decayed string). Although a number of the papyri were damaged during the intervening centuries, most of them were preserved in good condition. The archive comprises 36 (or 37 if a document from the Salome Komaise collection is included) individual items. Of these, 26 of them are Greek documents,

⁶ N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Shrine of the Book, 1989). Since then, Hannah Cotton has published numerous articles on the Babatha archive, refining the understanding of these documents and their social and historical context.

⁷ The following list of important collections is taken from J.D. Thomas, "Introduction to the Greek Documentary Texts," in *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyāl Collection II)* (ed. H.M. Cotton and A. Yardeni; DJD 27; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 133–157, esp. 134–135. A similar list, though for the entire eastern Mediterranean, is found in S.E. Porter, "The Greek Papyri of the Judaean Desert and the World of the Roman East," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S.E. Porter and C.A. Evans; JSPS 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 293–316, esp. 297–298.

⁸ These documents are published in P. Benoit, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, eds., *Les grottes de Murabba'at* (DJD 2; 2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) 1.212–269.

⁹ H.M. Cotton and J. Geiger, *Masada II: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports. The Latin and Greek Documents* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989).

¹⁰ These are now all published in Cotton and Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, with introduction on pp. 158–163 (from which the above data are taken) and editions on pp. 166–279. Cotton had published a number of the Salome Komaise documents in preliminary editions.

¹¹ For a discussion and diplomatic text of this document, see Porter, "Greek Papyri," 298–308, 315–316.

¹² For information on the archive, see Lewis, *Documents*, 3–5; Y. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba: The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Last Jewish Revolt against Imperial Rome* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971) 222–253; and Porter, "Greek Papyri," 311–313.

with nine of these having subscriptions and signatures in Aramaic and/or Nabataean. The rest of the documents are in Nabataean and Aramaic. Many of these are double documents, although, as Thomas has noted with double documents during the Roman period, the inner and outer texts are not identical, with the inner text often abbreviated.¹³ Of the 36 Greek documents, the following are worth noting: a series of texts regarding Babatha's orphaned son and his guardians (*P.Yadin* 27–30), including extracts of council minutes on the appointments of the guardians (*P.Yadin* 12); a petition to the Roman governor regarding the care of the son (*P.Yadin* 13); a summons of the guardians (*P.Yadin* 14); and a deposition (*P.Yadin* 15); several financial documents, including a census report that establishes her wealth (*P.Yadin* 16); two documents regarding her first husband's daughter (*P.Yadin* 18, 19), perhaps implying that the daughter was also in the cave; and a series of litigation-related documents concerning Babatha's inheritance when her second husband died (*P.Yadin* 20–26). A number of fragmentary texts also appear to be financial or administrative documents (*P.Yadin* 31–35).¹⁴

The Babatha archive, as noted above, is a set of legally related documents that record the financial and personal affairs, including marriage arrangements, of a woman named Babatha. Babatha, even though she was not from the upper class of Jewish residents in what was, before A.D. 106, the semi-autonomous kingdom of Nabataea, and then the Roman Province of Arabia,¹⁵ was a woman of some financial means and status. The story of her life, as it can be reconstructed from what remains of her archive, indicates that she was apparently married twice. Joshua, her first husband, died and left her with a son, who as an orphan was cared for by guardians (see *P.Yadin* 5, a document related to his nephew). Babatha married for a second time to a man named Judah (*P.Yadin* 11, a loan by Judah). Judah, it appears, was already married to a woman whose name was Miriam.¹⁶ Judah died two years later, which resulted in Babatha becoming embroiled in a number of legal battles to secure her dowry. Babatha believed that she was legally entitled to a dowry and adequate support for her son, but her husband's second wife (now widow) and family did not provide her with it. These legal battles resulted in Babatha being sued and her counter-suing. She did all of this by means of her "guardian" or "lord," as Roman law

¹³ Thomas, "Introduction," 141. On double documents, see Lewis, *Documents*, 6–10.

¹⁴ The description of the documents is taken directly from Porter, "Greek Papyri," 312–313.

¹⁵ See T. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian* (2 vols.; trans. W.P. Dickson; London: Macmillan, 1909) 2.116–159; G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983) 59–89, with 88–89 on Babatha.

¹⁶ Jewish polygamy was apparently more widespread during this time than often recognized. See Lewis, *Documents*, 22–24.

required. Babatha resided in Arabia, in a village called Mahoza, which was located on the southeastern side of the Dead Sea. What appears to have happened was that, when the second Jewish revolt broke out, she probably went to En-gedi along with other villagers, as En-gedi was an initial stronghold of the Jewish revolutionaries led by Bar Kokhba. Then she probably fled to the caves when events turned against the Jews. When she fled Mahoza for the Judean desert, Babatha appears to have taken her most important legal documents. These documents spanned almost forty years of her litigation and attempts to establish her legal claims to her properties (the earliest document is dated to A.D. 94 and the latest to A.D. 132).¹⁷ Babatha no doubt took these objects in anticipation of a time when she would need them to establish her legal claims. It is not known whether she died in the Cave of Letters or elsewhere, but it appears that she never returned home and her documents were never used again for their intended purposes.

In the light of these documents, there are a number of topics that might be of significance for those interested in how these papyri might inform study of the New Testament. For example, Jewish marriage customs of the time, especially in relation to polygamy, might give insight into thought during New Testament times. As Lewis indicates, the standard scholarly opinion regarding tannaitic marital practice was long thought to be monogamy, except under exceptional circumstances.¹⁸ The Babatha archive shows that this opinion may well need modification, especially as it indicates that the practice of polygamy was known lower down the socio-economic scale than previously thought. Another topic might include a range of Roman legal practices, especially the Roman census. One of the Babatha documents is a census report (*P. Yadin* 16), which gives insight into the types and levels of wealth at the time.¹⁹ A further topic for consideration is writing practices during the time, including the nature of the double document. Thomas has pointed out that the double document during the Roman period appears to have lost its authenticating purpose, as the inner document often was a highly abbreviated (and often poorly written) version of the outer document.²⁰ Related to the documents and the census would be other legal topics, such as the role of the “lord” or “guardian” in representing a woman, and

¹⁷ Babatha also took a number of other valuable items with her, which were found along with the letters in the Cave of Letters. See Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, *passim*, who describes them. These include Roman bronze and Roman glass objects—not surprising, as Yadin states, “at that time, after all, the whole area was one Roman common market!” (205).

¹⁸ Lewis, *Documents*, 23–24.

¹⁹ See S.E. Porter, “The Reasons for the Lukan Census,” in *Paul, Luke, and the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Alexander J.M. Wedderburn* (ed. A. Christophersen, C. Claussen, J. Frey and B.W. Longenecker; JSNTSup 217; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) 165–188.

²⁰ Thomas, “Introduction,” 141.

how that person performed in relation to other functionaries.²¹ There is the issue of the linguistic interference from Semitic languages upon the Greek used in these documents. There has been a range of studies of Semitic influence on Greek (especially that of the New Testament), but most of these have been confined to morphology and lexis, with some attention to idioms.²² Furthermore, although Babatha was a woman fully conversant with and intimately involved in the Roman legal system, she herself may not have spoken or written Greek (this cannot be determined for certain). Nevertheless, she was clearly a part of the kind of literate culture that influenced probably as many as 80% of those in the ancient world, as they needed to transact business with others by means of written documents.²³ Finally, though certainly not exhaustively, one might consider what the Babatha archive reveals about the Hellenization of the eastern Mediterranean, especially Arabia from Nabataean to Roman times.

Many of these topics could be pursued—certainly more than they have been in New Testament studies. However, the concern of this paper is matters of language.

3. *The Question of Representative Language*

Instead of focusing on the social, cultural and legal issues raised above, as significant as they may be, I wish instead to look at matters of language. The question has often been raised regarding how representative the Greek of the Egyptian papyri might be with regard to the koine used throughout the rest of the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman worlds. In other words, some have questioned the validity of using the Greek found in abundance in the Egyptian papyri as constituting any sort of comparative basis or representative sample of the Greek in use elsewhere in the Mediterranean area during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

²¹ See Thomas, "Introduction," 144–146.

²² See Lewis, *Documents*, 13–16. Most of the discussion here is reflective of the kind of atomistic discussion found in earlier studies regarding the Greek of the New Testament. See the history of discussion in Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, ch. 2. Recent discussion includes G. Walser, *The Greek of the Ancient Synagogue: An Investigation on the Greek of the Septuagint, Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2001); cf. the essays by J. Blomqvist, E. Tov, G. Walser, J. Watt, and S. Wahlgren, in *The Ancient Synagogue: From Its Origins until 200 C.E.* (ed. B. Olsson and M. Zetterholm; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003).

²³ See A.K. Bowman, "Literacy in the Roman Empire: Mass and Mode," in *Literacy in the Roman World* (ed. M. Beard; Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement Series 3; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991) 119–131, esp. 122. Cf. S.E. Porter and A.W. Pitts, "Paul's Bible, His Education, and His Access to the Scriptures of Israel," *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 5 (2008) 9–41, esp. 31–32.

This argument has taken several different forms. Some have argued that the Greek of Egypt, and in particular Alexandria, had already come under heavy Semitic, primarily Hebrew, influence, due to the large Jewish population in Egypt, especially in the Alexandrian area.²⁴ By this reasoning, the papyri found especially in Alexandria already evidenced Semitic interference, and hence had a genetic Semitic closeness to the Greek of the New Testament. Therefore, the Greek of Egypt was simply another type of Semitic Greek similar to that used in biblical texts. Others have argued, however, that the Greek of the papyri was influenced by the common or demotic language of the Egyptian people, what became Coptic. The argument is that the demotic and then Coptic language was grammatically similar to Semitic languages, and so apparent similarities between the Greek of the New Testament, which was influenced by Aramaic and possibly Hebrew, and the Greek of the papyri, which was influenced by demotic and Coptic, are explainable.²⁵ A third position entertains the notion that the Greek of the koine, including that found in the Egyptian papyri, reflects the results of a process of creolization that occurred in fifth-century Greece, and what we call the koine of Egypt was a creole language created from spoken Attic.²⁶ A fourth and final position disparages the Greek of the documentary papyri from Egypt and characterizes it as “uncouth, barbarous Greek in the letters of countless Egyptians.” These Greek papyri—disparaged as those “regularly written by non-Greeks”—are said to offer “a kind of Greek which cannot be taken as representative of main-line Koine; it is simply the form of Greek in which those who found themselves within one or other of the Greek kingdoms, and later within the Roman empire, communicated among themselves.”²⁷

²⁴ See, e.g., G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus Considered in the Light of Post Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language* (trans. D.M. Kay; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902) 17; R.R. Ottley, *A Handbook to the Septuagint* (London: Methuen, 1920) 165; J. Courtenay James, *The Language of Palestine and Adjacent Regions* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920) 57–75.

²⁵ See, e.g., L.-Th. Lefort, “Pur une grammaire des LXX,” *Muséon* 41 (1928) 152–160; J. Vergote, “Grec Biblique,” *DBSup* 3 (ed. L. Pirot; Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ane, 1938) cols. 1353–1360; F. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (2 vols.; Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1976, 1981) 1.46–48; Gignac, “The Language of the Non-Literary Greek Papyri,” in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (ed. D.H. Samuel; ASP 7; Toronto: Hakkert, 1970) 139–152; Gignac, “The Papyri and the Greek Language,” *Yale Classical Studies* 28 (1985) 157–158.

²⁶ See J. Frösén, *Prolegomena to a Study of the Greek Language in the First Centuries A.D.: The Problem of Koiné and Atticism* (Dissertation; Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1974) 59–94.

²⁷ C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament: Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission* (WUNT 167; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004) 43 (using BGU III 846, cited from A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* [4th ed.; trans. L.R.M. Strachan; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1927] 187). I hesitate to include this opinion,

There are a number of responses that might be made to these several positions. The first is the significant set of observations by Teodorsson, who argues that no other kind of non-literary koine Greek has ever been discovered in Egypt than what has been found in the documentary papyri, and thus there is no evidence of a previous or otherwise “pure” Greek, little evidence of any creolization process of reduction of vernacular Attic, especially in Greece in the fifth century, and no evidence of this Greek as found in the documentary papyri being considered to depart from the acceptable norms of Hellenistic and Roman Greek.²⁸ Furthermore, the Alexandrian Semitic Greek hypothesis does not take into account that the Jewish population was in the northern Alexandrian area, while the koine Greek under discussion is the form of Greek found throughout Hellenistic and then Roman Egypt, as well as now in such places as the eastern Mediterranean. Regarding the creolization process, creoles are a transitional mix of two different languages, that is, two broad varieties, not a variety of the closely allied and for the most part mutually intelligible Greek dialects. The Greek of Greece and then Egypt was not a transitional language, as it was used over the course of a thousand years, and the creolization process posited does not involve two broad varieties, but simply an extended form of Attic.²⁹ Instead, koine today is recognized as an extended form of what Horrocks and others call “Great Attic,” the official language of business and diplomacy.³⁰ This is the language that became the lingua franca of the Mediterranean world, though no doubt with some regional dialectal features. There is also evidence that, whatever one thinks of literary Attic, spoken Attic had much in common with the kind of language found in the Greek of the documentary papyri, as evidenced through the depiction of the literarily stylized speech of common people.³¹ Lastly, the kinds of examples often selected as supposedly barba-

as it is expressed in such a prejudicial manner. See p. 44: “It is doubtful whether a Greek could have written in this uncouth manner.” For a more balanced perspective, and one that recognizes some of the extremes of what he calls “linguistic chauvinism” (p. 82 n. 12), see C. Charalambakis, “Modern Greek Archaisms Reconsidered,” in *For Particular Reasons: Studies in Honour of Jerker Blomqvist* (ed. A. Piltz et al.; Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2003) 71–84.

²⁸ See S.-T. Teodorsson, *The Phonology of Ptolemaic Koine* (GLG 36; Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1977) 25–35.

²⁹ On issues related to pidgins/creoles, see J. Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles. I. Theory and Structure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 4–9.

³⁰ See G. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers* (London: Longmans, 1997) 33–37. See also F.R. Adrados, *A History of the Greek Language: From Its Origins to the Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) 175–225. Further helpful essays are found in the three volumes edited by C. Brixhe, *La koiné grecque antique* (Etudes anciennes 10, 14, 17; Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy/ADRA, 1993–1998).

³¹ See K.J. Dover, “The Colloquial Stratum in Classical Attic Prose,” in *Classical Contributions: Studies in Honour of M.F. McGregor* (ed. G.S. Shrimpton and D.J. McCargor; Locust

rous Greek are mostly spelling mistakes, which are also found in literary texts.³² Thus, there is little substantive basis for attempting to bracket out of discussion the Greek found in the Egyptian papyri, as it appears to be at least one variety of Greek used in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

A recent linguistically based study has further addressed a number of these issues. Leiwo, using a number of ostraka from the Roman fortress town of Mons Claudianus (near Wadi Umm Hussein in Egypt), where 6000 ostraka with writing have been discovered in archaeological digs there, approaches the Greek of the Egyptian papyri from a sociolinguistic standpoint. He begins from two important foundational concepts. The first is the difference between written and spoken language. Accepting a Hallidayan perspective on this matter, he recognizes written language as lexically more dense, while spoken language is more syntactically complex. He places the documentary papyri, including ostraka, as “somewhere between written and spoken registers.”³³ In indirect response to those who denigrate the language of the papyri, Leiwo differentiates between three language varieties: high, standard, and low or substandard varieties—with the term “variety” and its modifiers used in a neutral, descriptive way.³⁴ He believes that the documentary texts reflect a substandard variety of koine in Egypt, but may still be standard within its own variety or register.³⁵ Leiwo also notes that one must recognize the importance of context, both social and historical, in accounting for linguistic deviations. Some of them are simply what he calls “garbage errors,” which are merely ad hoc errors, while others represent

Valley, NY: Augustin, 1981) 15–25, esp. 16; S.-T. Teodorsson, “Phonological Variation in Classical Attic and the Development of Koine,” *Glotta* 57 (1979) 61–75, esp. 68–71.

³² And, admittedly, in texts written by Greeks (so Caragounis, *Development*, 44). Caragounis cites as examples in support of his disparaging judgment what he calls an “awkward use of καί,” the use of τοῦτο instead of τούτου, and an instance of a nominative instead of a vocative—in ten lines of text. The καί may be awkward, but the καί style is not unknown even in literary works, such as Plato, *Phaedon* 116d–117b (see S. Trenkner, *Le style KAI dans le récit attique oral* [Brussels: Editions de l’institut d’études Polonaises en Belgique, 1948]). The καί also marks the beginning of a new section of the letter (beginning the body, after closing the opening). The τοῦτο/τούτου issue is probably one of phonetic interchange (see Gignac, *Grammar*, 1.211–213), and the use of the nominative for address, not the vocative, is not unusual at all, especially in emotive contexts such as this (see W.W. Goodwin revised by C.B. Gulick, *Greek Grammar* [Boston: Ginn and Company, 1930] 222).

³³ M. Leiwo, “Substandard Greek: Remarks from Mons Claudianus,” in *Ancient Greece at the Turn of the Millennium: Recent Work and Future Perspectives/La Grèce antique au tournant du millénaire: Travaux récents et perspectives d’avenir. Actes du Symposium d’Athènes/Proceedings of the Athens Symposium, 18–20 mai/May 2001* (ed. N.M. Kennell and J.E. Tomlinson; Publications of the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens 4; Athens: Canadian Archaeological Institute, 2005) 237–261, here 238. He cites M.A.K. Halliday, *Spoken and Written Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

³⁴ Leiwo, “Substandard Greek,” 241 n. 17; cf. 244–245, where he defends this notion.

³⁵ Leiwo, “Substandard Greek,” 239 n. 8.

“real linguistic variation,” whether caused by actual linguistic change or by language contact.³⁶

On the basis of this approach, Leiwo analyzes the spelling and phonology, morphology, and syntax of a number of ostraka written by a person named Petenephotes, who worked in food services and sent these ostraka letters to his brother at Mons Claudianus in the second century A.D.³⁷ Leiwo arrives at the following conclusions. Regarding spelling and phonology, Petenephotes “was uncertain when writing vowels.”³⁸ Leiwo notes that this is already a widely known problem that is common especially in substandard dialects, as earlier papyrologists have well documented. These spellings can be traced back to changes in pronunciation already occurring in Attic Greek. Leiwo notes that some of the vowel interchanges seem to reflect phonological neutralization, while others seem to reflect simply graphic problems. Leiwo also notes that Petenephotes had trouble with the iota adscript, indicating that it was not important in the language of the time. Further, the phonetic closeness of certain vowels results in what appears to be confusion of cases, when the problem is not syntactical, but entirely phonological.³⁹ In terms of morphology, some apparent morphological changes—such as vowels in verb endings—are caused by neutralization of vowels. It appears that Petenephotes used a number of nonstandard imperative forms, but these are consistent with forms found elsewhere in substandard Greek. However, Leiwo believes that these forms too can be explained phonologically. Leiwo posits that Petenephotes used what Riionheimo psycholinguistically calls “rule-processing reasoning,” in which activation of the command function activates a single imperative morpheme, with the various expressions of it reflecting phonological variation.⁴⁰ In terms of syntax, once the phonological issues are taken into account, there appears to be little in terms of cases that is not seen in other Greek, such as the merger of the genitive and dative cases, and increased use of the accusative case. Similarly, Petenephotes uses the future form with a directive or volitive force, also well attested in other registers of Greek, including literary language. In other regards, such as use

³⁶ Leiwo, “Substandard Greek,” 242. Leiwo attributes what is identified as contact-induced change to Latin, not demotic Egyptian, which had a different structure, though being Semitic.

³⁷ The hand for each is the same, and Leiwo believes that it is that of Petenephotes, not that of a scribe, on the basis of the subject matter and situation.

³⁸ Leiwo, “Substandard Greek,” 249.

³⁹ Leiwo, “Substandard Greek,” 250–251.

⁴⁰ Leiwo, “Substandard Greek,” 252–253, citing H. Riionheimo, “Morphological Attraction and Interference in Language Contact: Sketching a Framework,” in *Language Contact, Variation and Change* (ed. J. Niemi, T. Odlin, and J. Heikkinen; Studies in Language 32; Joensuu, Finland: University of Joensuu, 1998) 246–268, esp. 247–251.

of the aorist subjunctive, subordination and non-finite constructions, and adverbial subordinate clauses, Petenephotes shows himself to be a competent user of Greek.⁴¹ Leiwo concludes that the “language is basically idiomatic, but there is variation due to the actual process of writing.”⁴²

On the basis of previous study, including most recently Leiwo’s analysis of a corpus of substandard Greek from Egypt, there is good cause for viewing the Greek of the documentary papyri of Egypt, including substandard varieties, and probably other similar Greek from the wider world of the time, as representative of Greek in use in the Greco-Roman world around the time of the turning of the millennia.

4. *The Language of the Babatha Archive, Egyptian Papyri, and the Greek New Testament*

In this section of the paper, I wish to bring the Babatha archive, a corpus of documentary Greek papyri originating in the eastern Mediterranean, into discussion with the Greek of the Egyptian papyri, and then at several points correlate this with usage as found in the Greek New Testament. This study concerns the language of the texts, not in terms of Semitisms or in terms of phonology or morphology, but in terms of a variety of grammatical phenomena.⁴³ This portion of the paper is based directly upon three previous studies, and uses the data gathered and analyzed in those papers. The first of these studies analyzes the entire verbal network of the Greek of the New Testament. Although that study was designed to test (and did confirm) the hypothesis that the Greek verbal network, especially in terms of verbal aspect, constitutes a set of discrete and independent system networks, the data gathered there can, at least in part, be used to provide statistical comparison with other corpora of Greek documents. The second study is of a structured corpus of forty-five Egyptian documentary papyrus letters, annotated for the *OpenText.org* project, and consisting of 3341 words (an average of around 74 words per document). Although this study was cast in terms of social status and register analysis of various linguistic phenomena,

⁴¹ Leiwo, “Substandard Greek,” 253–254.

⁴² Leiwo, “Substandard Greek,” 255.

⁴³ This study draws on the research and results of these three previous studies: S.E. Porter and M.B. O’Donnell, “The Greek Verbal Network Viewed from a Probabilistic Standpoint: An Exercise in Hallidayan Linguistics,” *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 14 (2000) 3–41; Porter and O’Donnell, “Building and Examining Linguistic Phenomena in a Corpus of Representative Papyri,” in *The Language of the Papyri* (ed. T.V. Evans and D.D. Obbink; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) 287–311; and Porter, “Buried Treasure in the Babatha Archive,” in *Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Papyrology* (ed. T. Gagos; forthcoming).

the result was to establish comparative norms for various linguistic features, such as tense-form usage, within a corpus of Egyptian Greek papyri. The third study is an initial study of the Babatha archive of Greek documents. Although there are 26 Greek documents in this archive, only 23 were used in creating this corpus, as the other three were too fragmentary for annotation and analysis of their Greek. This corpus consists of 23 documents with 4344 words (an average of around 189 words per document). The Babatha archive, following the previous study, was cast in terms of register analysis, but the data gathered there provides a linguistic profile of these documents that will be drawn upon in this study.⁴⁴ In this study, I draw upon the data there presented in more detail and compare them with the Greek New Testament and the structured corpus of Greek from Egypt in order to draw some conclusions regarding the Greek of the Babatha archive, and its relation to these other two corpora of Greek. As a result, some patterns of usage of Greek during the Hellenistic and especially Roman periods should clearly emerge.

a. Conjunctions. There has been relatively little sustained, recent study of conjunctions, especially of *καί*, in the Greek of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and of the New Testament in particular, except by those who wish to label its use as falling under Semitic usage.⁴⁵ Despite the contentions of some scholars, paratactic conjunctions were more frequent in Greek, including Greek of the classical period, than is often realized.⁴⁶ Conjunctions may be analyzed as functioning along a vertical axis and one of two horizontal axes. The vertical axis is in terms of levels of discourse, including the joining of words, word groups, clauses, clause complexes, and paragraphs. Each conjunction also functions on a cline along one of two horizontal axes, either continuity–discontinuity or logical–semantic significance.⁴⁷ Most previous study of conjunctions has not systematically differentiated the various

⁴⁴ Two other problems were noted in the study of the Babatha archive: the fact that 14 of the 23 documents are double documents and how this affects the statistical distribution (see mention above of the fact that, though similar, double documents by Roman times were abbreviated), and the fact that, though an archive on the basis of all of the papyri concerning Babatha, circumstances and the ravages of time have had an influence on the content and structure of the archive.

⁴⁵ The most important study to date is S.L. Black, *Sentence Conjunctions in the Gospel of Matthew: καί, δέ, τότε, γάρ, οὖν and Asyndeton in Narrative Discourse* (JSNTSup 216; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

⁴⁶ See Trenkner, *Le style KAI dans le récit attique oral*; cf. A. Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch* (AASF.DHL 11; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1982) 157.

⁴⁷ See S.E. Porter and M.B. O'Donnell, "Conjunctions, Clines and Levels of Discourse," *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 20 (2007) 3–14.

axes of usage of conjunctions, but has simply lumped them together for simple counting purposes. As an entry point for more sustained discussion of conjunctions in the papyri, I draw on clausal level conjunctions, used on both horizontal axes.

In the Babatha corpus, there are 209 instances of clausal level conjunctions. They appear in the following order of frequency in that linguistic environment:

καί (55x), δέ (40x), εἰ (21x), ἐάν (14x), καθώς (8x), ὅτι (6x), and ὡς (5x).

There are a number of other conjunctions that appear 1–4 times each: ἵνα, καθάπερ, διό, ὅθεν, ὥστε, οὕτως, ὁπόταν, ὅπου, ἐπειδή, and ἐπεί. Asyndeton is used at the clausal level 32x (something not calculated in the Egyptian papyri cited below). The conjunction καί appears in 26% of the instances and δέ in 19% of the instances.

In terms of clausal level conjunctions in the Greek papyri of Egypt, the following results were found in the structured corpus. There were 257 instances of clausal level conjunctions used in these documents. They are distributed in the following numbers, when used in this environment:

καί (99x), δέ (39x), ἵνα (23x), οὖν (20x), γάρ (17x), ὅπως (13x), ἐάν (12x), ὅτι (11x), εἰ (10x), ἐπεί (7x), and ὡς (6x).

In the structured corpus of papyri from Egypt, the conjunction καί appears in 38% of the instances, with δέ in 15% of the instances (of the most frequent conjunctions).

The Greek New Testament uses a wider range of conjunctions than is found in these two corpora of papyri,⁴⁸ no doubt because of the significantly larger corpus and wider range of documents found within it, including sub-literary and possibly even literary texts (e.g. portions of Luke-Acts and Hebrews). The distribution of the conjunctions found in the two papyrological corpora (thus not all the conjunctions) in the Greek of the New Testament, is as follows:

καί (9161x), δέ (2792x), ὅτι (1293x), γάρ (1041x), ἵνα (664x), εἰ (595x), ὡς (504x), οὖν (499x), ἐάν (333x), καθώς (182x), οὕτως (90x), ὅπου (81x), ὥστε (83x), ὅπως (53x), ἐπεί (26x), ὅθεν (15x), καθάπερ (13x), ἐπειδή (10x).

The numbers of instances of most of the conjunctions, apart from καί and δέ, are probably too limited within the two papyrological corpora of limited size to make much of their frequency of appearance. A number of other

⁴⁸ For example, the conjunction ἀλλά (638x) is found frequently in the Greek of the New Testament, but in neither papyrus corpus.

observations, however, can be made regarding conjunctions in these three corpora.

(a) With some localized variation, the distribution of the most frequent conjunctions in the papyri is roughly consistent with that of the New Testament: *καί* and *δέ* are the most frequent in that order, and *καί* by some margin over *δέ*, which itself is used more often than any other conjunctions. It is important to note that the Greek of the New Testament and the structured corpus from Egypt, which reflects the use of Greek in personal letters, has a much higher use of the conjunction *καί*, including frequency over *δέ*, than there is in the documents written for the Nabataean woman, Babatha, living east of Palestine (who would presumably have greater Semitic influence on her language, as a Nabataean). Nevertheless, *καί* and *δέ* are still the most frequently used conjunctions in the Babatha corpus, and indicate a tendency toward a paratactic style, even if the relative frequency of *καί* is less and that of *δέ* relatively higher than in the other two corpora. This result regarding conjunctions in the Babatha archive, when compared to the Greek New Testament, might appear to be counterintuitive to what we would expect when we compare these documentary texts with the sub-literary and literary texts of the New Testament. In the Babatha corpus, one would expect a heightened, rather than a reduced frequency of *καί* (although note the comments above on the use of *καί* in classical Attic). Nevertheless, the result is consistent with the koine of the Egyptian papyri and the Greek New Testament. On the basis of this evidence from Egypt, the Roman east, and the New Testament, it is reasonable to conclude that the use of paratactic *καί* is a part of the linguistic repertoire of koine Greek of the Roman period (and probably from much earlier), as is (though to a lesser degree) the use of the conjunction *δέ*.

(b) Some of the kinds of social and contextual factors that Leiwo notes in his study may have importance in observing the frequency of appearance of the conjunctions *ἐι* and *ἐάν* in the Babatha corpus. These conjunctions are the third and fourth most frequent, probably because of the legal content of several of the documents, with the protases suggesting conditions to be fulfilled for the legal situation to be accomplished. In the structured papyrus corpus from Egypt, with its mix of letters, these conjunctions are the seventh and ninth most frequent. Use in the Greek New Testament seems to be more consistent with that of the structured papyrus corpus.

(c) Two widely used conjunctions are not found in the Babatha archive: *οὐν* and *γάρ*. These conjunctions are mid-frequency conjunctions in both the Greek of the New Testament and that of the structured papyrus corpus from Egypt. These conjunctions are both widely used in narrative texts, especially where connective relationships are indicated. The legal nature of

the Babatha archive documents, apparently without the kind of narrative structure found in letters and other more literary documents, perhaps did not necessitate use of these conjunctions, or possibly they were not part of the active conjunction system of the scribes who wrote these documents.

(d) Any supposed Semitic influence on the Greek of these documents cannot be established on the basis of the use of conjunctions, as the type and distribution of conjunctions appears to be generally consistent across the three different corpora. This includes the Babatha archive, which has the least paratactic style, but the greatest supposed possibility of Semitic influence.

b. Thematized Element Ordering. Greek discourse uses structural syntactical elements to focus select material on the basis of the ordering of elements in their respective linguistic units.⁴⁹ The linguistic element in the first slot receives focus. Each discourse level—especially word group or clause—has its own marked syntactic structure. At the clause (primary and secondary unembedded) level, the four clausal elements are Subject (S), Predicator (P), Complement (C), and (for optional modifying elements) Adjunct (A).⁵⁰ The element that is placed in the first (discounting conjunctions) or focal position is thematized, with information structure ordered in terms of thematic and rhematic material.

When one examines the frequency of ordering of thematized clausal elements within the three corpora, the following results are found.

In the Babatha archive, there are 565 clausal structures to be analyzed. The following patterns of frequency are found: P (565x, 34%), A (555x, 33%), C (387x, 23%), and S (164x, 9%). Thus, the frequency pattern is P > A > C > S (Predicator is more frequent than Adjunct than Subject than Complement). However, we note that the Predicator is only slightly more frequent than the Adjunct, but either one is more frequent by some margin than the Complement, which is significantly more frequent than the Subject. In my previous study of the Babatha corpus, I noted that Adjuncts are frequently used in the introduction to the text in the Babatha archive as part of the legal introduction to the document. This certainly helps to account for the high frequency of A elements. In the Babatha archive, at least in part because of the form of legal documents used, adjunctive elements are thematized more than objects (C) and agents (S). If the optional Adjunct is

⁴⁹ This is discussed in more detail in S.E. Porter and M.B. O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis and the Greek New Testament: Theory, Application and Results* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

⁵⁰ I use the terminology found in the *OpenText.org* project. See www.opentext.org for further details.

removed, however, the ordering is $P > C > S$, with the following percentages of occurrence: P (51%), C (35%), and S (15%), with the Predicate significantly more frequent than the Complement and Subject.

In the structured corpus of Egyptian papyri, there are 398 clausal structures to be analyzed. The following patterns of frequency are found: P (174x, 43%), C (90x, 25%), A (83x, 21%), S (54x, 13%). Thus, the frequency pattern is $P > C > A > S$ (Predicate is more frequent than Complement than Adjunct than Subject). As in the Babatha corpus, the structured corpus has the Predicate as dominant, but here the dominance of the Predicate is more significant than the other elements. The Complement and Adjunct elements are fairly similar in frequency. However, if the optional Adjunct is removed, the same order as in the Babatha archive is found: $P > C > S$, with the following percentages: P (55%), C (28%), and S (17%). For both the Babatha corpus and the structured Egyptian papyri corpus, the Subject is clearly less thematically important, even when it is grammaticalized.

In the Greek of the New Testament, the most frequent pattern of thematized order (from greater to lesser frequency) is: $P > A > S > C$ (Predicate is more frequent than Adjunct than Subject than Complement). This can be refined somewhat by examining one book in particular, Mark's Gospel, which follows the same pattern as does the New Testament as a whole. The frequency of ordering is as follows: P (824x, 42%), A (548x, 28%), S (409x, 21%), and C (186x, 10%). Concerning the Greek of the New Testament, I note that the frequency of the Predicate is less prominent than in either the Babatha corpus or the structured papyrus corpus, although the frequency of all of the elements is fairly distinctly separated. I note further that the Subject is relatively more frequently thematized in the New Testament, including Mark's Gospel, than it is in either of the papyrus collections. This is seen in both relative ordering, with Subject before Complement in the New Testament, and the greater percentage of appearance, at 21%, in Mark. The final element, the Complement, is relatively less frequent than is the Complement in either of the papyri corpora, and less frequent than the final element in the papyri corpora. However, if the Adjunct is removed from the ordering, as it thematizes optional material, the ordering of the New Testament becomes $P > S > C$, with the following percentages: P (58%), S (29%), and C (13%). These percentages of appearance, though still in a different thematized ordering, with $S > C$, are more consonant with those found in the papyri corpora, especially as represented in the structured corpus of Egyptian papyri.

These findings warrant several further observations.

(a) The papyri, whether the Babatha corpus or the structured corpus from Egypt, have much in common regarding thematized ordering and the frequency of such elements. Some of the factors that distinguish them,

such as the frequency of the thematized Adjunct, can be accounted for in terms of particularities of the documents themselves, in this case features of the legal texts represented in the Babatha archive.

(b) There are also a good number of similarities between the papyri and the Greek New Testament, especially the Greek of Mark's Gospel. These include the clear thematic significance of the Predicator.

(c) There are also a number of differences among the corpora that must be noted and addressed. One is the difference in thematized order. The two corpora of papyri agree in their fundamental order, but the New Testament, including Mark, is different in that it raises the significance of the thematized Subject, especially over the Complement. Some of this may be accounted for on the basis of the nature of the texts concerned, although this is less likely. The corpus of Egyptian papyri includes a wide variety of subject matter, and so one might naturally expect a greater Subject thematization. The issue appears to be, not the different subject matter, but the desire to syntactically thematize it. This is understandable in terms of the number and diversity of thematized subjects in the New Testament.

(d) The difference in thematization raises the question of regional and perhaps text-type variety. None of the books of the New Testament were written in Egypt or the Arabian region, but most of them, probably including Mark's Gospel, were written in the northern Mediterranean, including such places as Rome.⁵¹ More study needs to be done of the individual books of the New Testament and their syntactical patterns, although the difficulty of accounting for their places of origin will no doubt continue to prove to be problematic.

c. Participation.⁵² Person identification, which is morphologically encoded, indicates semantic relations, but also serves a discourse function. Participant structure is an important part of discourse, as it accounts for who is involved in the discourse and their roles and relations, defined both intra-textually and extra-textually. One of the major means of determining participation is the indication of grammatical person. First person represents direct and included participation, second person represents non-direct included participation, and third person represents non-included participation.

⁵¹ There is much speculation regarding such topics. For a summary of the major issues, see L.M. McDonald and S.E. Porter, *Early Christianity and its Sacred Literature* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2000) *passim*.

⁵² For a recent study of person, see A. Siewierska, *Person* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) esp. 47–74.

In the Babatha corpus, there are 272 instances of person specification. The distribution of instances and percentage is as follows:

1st Person: 77x, 28%
 2nd Person: 31x, 11%
 3rd Person: 164x, 60%

The frequency of usage can be represented as: 3rd person > 1st person > 2nd person. The Babatha archive uses the third person (non-included participation) most frequently, followed distantly by the first person, and then second person.

In the structured Egyptian papyri corpus, there are 578 instances of person specification. The distribution of instances and percentage is as follows:

1st Person: 214x, 37%
 2nd Person: 261x, 45%
 3rd Person: 103x, 18%

The frequency within this corpus of papyri can be represented as: 2nd person > 1st person > 3rd person. The second person is the most frequent, followed by the first person, and then distantly by the third person. Thus, the non-direct included person is grammaticalized most frequently.

The Greek of the New Testament⁵³ uses person 16,871 times, with a distribution as follows:

1st Person: 2689x, 16%
 2nd Person: 3233x, 19%
 3rd Person: 10,949x, 65%

The frequency of ordering for the New Testament is: 3rd person > 2nd person > 1st person. The New Testament uses the third person most frequently, followed by second person, and then by first person, in roughly proportional percentages. Thus, the non-included participation is grammaticalized most frequently.

In terms of participation, additional information regarding use of singular and plural can be added.⁵⁴ In the Babatha archive, the singular constitutes 92% of the instances, with the plural only 8% (236x vs. 36x), while in the structured Egyptian papyrus corpus, the singular constitutes about 82% of the instances, with the plural about 18% (469x vs. 109x). The New

⁵³ The statistics for this section on the Greek New Testament are derived from Porter and O'Donnell, "Greek Verbal Network," esp. Appendix B.

⁵⁴ On number, see G.G. Corbett, *Number* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Testament has the singular over the plural 66% to 34% (11,124x vs. 5747x), a percentage ratio that is closely approximated in all of the sub-corpora of the New Testament.

There are a number of observations that can be made regarding participation structure, as well as number.

(a) Discourse function seems to dictate the distribution of person, including the frequent use of the non-included (third) person in the Babatha corpus and the Greek New Testament. The use of the third person is perhaps understandable in light of the legal nature of the Babatha documents, in which the participants with whom Babatha has dealings, whether in dispute or simply description, are grammaticalized in a non-included way. There is apparently relatively little need to grammaticalize second person reference for non-direct inclusive participation. The same holds for the New Testament, in which there is an abundance of narrative, which is typified by third person reference.

(b) One can account for the distribution of person in the structured Egyptian papyri corpus in terms of the epistolary nature of the documents involved, and especially the fact that the letters are addressed to others, and this form of address (second person) is grammaticalized in these documents. There is relatively little reference to non-inclusive participation.

(c) The ordering of the Greek New Testament as a whole is found throughout the individual sub-corpora of the New Testament, although within the Pauline corpus the percentage of third person grammaticalization is proportionately less (48%), and first person, indicating direct inclusion, is grammaticalized more frequently than in the rest of the New Testament (30%).

(d) Concerning number, in both papyri corpora, the singular person is used much more frequently than the plural, while the Greek New Testament, still using singular over plural, does so at a reduced frequency. The personal nature of the papyrus documents, including letters and legal documents concerning individuals, probably accounts for these differences.

d. Mood Forms and Attitude. Mood forms grammaticalize semantic attitude, and are another indicator of participant relations, in this instance their relationship to reality.⁵⁵ Besides their individual semantic features, the attitudes serve a discourse function.

⁵⁵ See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 163–178.

In the Babatha corpus, there are 272 instances of use of mood forms. The use of the mood forms is as follows:

Indicative	Imperative	Subjunctive	Optative
208 (76%)	13 (5%)	51 (19%)	0 (0%)

The ordering of these elements for the Babatha archive is: Indicative > Subjunctive > Imperative. The Indicative and Subjunctive account for 95% of the mood-form usage. There are no instances of the Optative used in the entire corpus.

In the structured corpus of Egyptian papyri, there are 368 instances of use of mood forms. The use of the mood forms is as follows:

Indicative	Imperative	Subjunctive	Optative
200 (56%)	99 (26%)	65 (17%)	4 (1%)

The ordering of these elements for the structured corpus is: Indicative > Imperative > Subjunctive > Optative. The Optative is used 4x (1%) in the structured corpus.

The Greek New Testament⁵⁶ uses the mood forms 16,871 times in the following distribution:

Indicative	Imperative	Subjunctive	Optative
13,445 (80%)	1586 (9%)	1784 (11%)	56 (1%)

The ordering of these elements for the New Testament is: Indicative > Subjunctive > Imperative > Optative. The use of the Subjunctive and the Imperative is fairly close in terms of instances of usage.

A number of observations can be made on the basis of the following patterns of mood-form usage:

- Babatha archive: Indicative > Subjunctive > Imperative
- Structured corpus: Indicative > Imperative > Subjunctive > Optative
- New Testament: Indicative > Subjunctive > Imperative > Optative

(a) For all three of the corpora surveyed, the Indicative appears most frequently, though the proportions are not identical. The New Testament and the Babatha archive have a similar frequency of use of the Indicative (75–80%), with each being significantly more frequent than in the structured corpus (56%).

(b) The Babatha archive and the New Testament are similar with regard to the Subjunctive being the next most frequent mood-form. However, the

⁵⁶ The statistics for this section on the Greek New Testament are derived from Porter and O'Donnell, "Greek Verbal Network," esp. Appendix B.

percentage of use is divergent, with greater frequency in the Babatha corpus. As a result, the percentage of usage of the Babatha corpus is similar to that of the structured corpus. Nevertheless, both the Babatha corpus and the structured corpus have a roughly equal frequency of the use of the Subjunctive with its projective attitude (Subjunctive: 17% and 19% respectively).

(c) The structured papyrus corpus has a more directive attitudinal semantics than does the Babatha archive or the New Testament (26% Imperatives vs. 5% and 9%).⁵⁷ The use of the Imperative is significantly less in both of these.

(d) The frequency of use of the Optative is similar in both the structured corpus and the New Testament. Though the percentage is not great, it is significantly more frequent than in the Babatha archive.

e. Tense-Form and Aspect. Aspect is a morphologically based semantic category that structures action as perfective (aorist tense-form), imperfective (present and imperfect tense-forms) or stative (perfect and pluperfect tense-forms).⁵⁸ The use of aspect both serves a semantic function at the clausal level, but also serves a discourse function by defining and contouring linguistic units.

The Babatha corpus uses the three Greek aspects 542 times, and in the following proportions:

Perfective	Imperfective	Stative
166 (32%)	275 (55%)	83 (13%)

The structured corpus of Egyptian papyri uses the aspects 543 times in the following relations:

Perfective	Imperfective	Stative
220 (40%)	226 (41%)	97 (18%)

The Greek New Testament⁵⁹ uses the three aspects 23,987 times, in the following proportions:

Perfective	Imperfective	Stative
11,604 (48%)	10,725 (45%)	1658 (7%)

⁵⁷ There are certainly other means by which “directives” or “commands” may be formulated in Greek, but this analysis is formally based, as a means of establishing quantifiable data as the basis of semantics, before moving to pragmatics.

⁵⁸ See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 75–108.

⁵⁹ The statistics for this section on the Greek New Testament are derived from Porter and O'Donnell, “Greek Verbal Network,” esp. Appendix B.

A number of observations can be made on the basis of the following patterns of tense-form usage:

Babatha archive: Imperfective > Perfective > Stative

Structured corpus: Imperfective > Perfective > Stative

New Testament: Perfective > Imperfective > Stative

Three significant comments are pertinent regarding these aspectual usages.

(a) Both of the corpora of papyri have the imperfective aspect as predominant, although in the structured papyrus corpus this usage is only marginally greater. Both have the following pattern of usage: Imperfective > Perfective > Stative. The usage in the Greek New Testament has the Perfective more frequent than the Imperfective (Perfective > Imperfective > Stative). Although the frequency of Perfective over Imperfective is not large, it is significant enough over the number of times used to indicate a pattern.

(b) The Imperfective > Perfective pattern as found in the two corpora of papyri is what one might expect in expository epistolary material. This is confirmed by examination of two sub-corpora of epistolary material in the New Testament. In the Pauline letters, the Imperfective is most frequent (2576x, 56%), followed by the Perfective (1651x, 36%) and the Stative (408x, 9%), out of a total of 4635x. In the body of "other" (letter) writings of the New Testament, which includes Hebrews, James, the Petrine letters and Jude, a (marginally) similar pattern is to be found. The Imperfective is most frequent (1351x, 46%), followed by the Perfective (1318x, 45%) and the Stative (267x, 9%), out of a total of 2936x. It is problematic to make too much of the statistical differences, but nevertheless it is noteworthy that the Pauline letters have a similar aspectual profile as the Babatha corpus, while the other epistles mirror the structured papyri corpus. That is, the Pauline and Babatha texts have a significantly higher percentage of imperfective over perfective aspect, while the other New Testament epistles and the structured papyri corpus have a slightly more frequent use of the imperfective over the perfective aspect.

(c) The use of the Stative is the least frequent in all three corpora. However, the use of the Stative in the Greek New Testament, including in the two sub-corpora noted above, is less frequent than it is in the two papyri corpora. Some of the use of the stative aspect in the structured corpus may be determined by the letter form, but, even if this is taken into account, there is more widespread frequency in these non-narrative texts than there is in the New Testament, with its mix of narrative and expository texts. In the Gospels, the use of the stative aspect is even less frequent than in the epistolary material (590x out of 13,015x, 4.5%), which pattern is at least consistent with the papyri corpora.

f. Voice Form and Causality. Verbal causality is a morphologically based semantic category that structures causation in terms of active, middle and passive causal forms.⁶⁰

The occurrence of the voice forms is as follows. In the Babatha corpus, voice is morphologically expressed 540 times, with the following frequency of usage:

Active	Middle	Passive
302 (60%)	76 (13%)	162 (27%)

The structured papyrus corpus has 575 instances of morphologically expressed voice. When the corpus was being developed, the textual annotation was strictly formal, and so the middle/passive forms (as found in the present/imperfect and perfect/pluperfect tense-forms) were not disambiguated. The following results are thus found:

Active	Middle	Mid./Pass.	Passive
401 (68%)	21 (4%)	134 (24%)	19 (4%)

I note that the instances of middle, passive and middle/passive total 32% of the total instances.

In the Greek New Testament,⁶¹ there are 25,421 instances of morphologically expressed voice forms. The following distribution is to be found:

Active	Middle	Passive
13,332 (72%)	2586 (10%)	4501 (18%)

In this study of the Greek voices, the disambiguation of middle/passive forms was formulaically calculated on the basis of probabilities, so the statistics must be held tentatively, subject to confirmation by examination of context.

The following observations can be made regarding voice forms.

(a) The use of the voice forms in the Babatha corpus, in which the middle/passive forms are disambiguated on the basis of their contextual use, perhaps offers some insight into the use of voice forms in the other two corpora. In the Babatha archive, the distribution of voice is 2:1, with the passive voice being used approximately twice as frequently as the middle.

⁶⁰ I note here that I do not discuss the causal semantics of the voice forms. There are a number of reasons for this, not least that a full discussion of causal semantics is merited for which there is not the space or place here. To summarize an analysis being undertaken elsewhere (Porter, *Voice in the Greek of the New Testament*, forthcoming), I believe that the active form grammaticalizes active voice, the passive form passive voice, and the middle form ergative voice.

⁶¹ The statistics for this section on the Greek New Testament are derived from Porter and O'Donnell, "Greek Verbal Network," esp. Appendix B.

This is similar to the formulaic calculation for the Greek New Testament as well. There is at least some basis for believing that the same distribution would be found in the structured papyri corpus, where the distinct middle and passive forms are approximately equally frequent. If the same ratio holds for this last corpus, the distribution would be 12% middle voice forms and 20% passive voice forms.⁶² These constructed figures will be used in the following further observations.

(b) For all three corpora, the frequency of usage of the voice forms is as follows: Active > Passive > Middle. In all three corpora, even though there is some variation regarding how frequently the active voice form appears, the active form is used far more frequently than the other two forms, by a significant margin.

(c) The use of the middle voice form is the least frequent, no doubt in the Babatha archive, and, as well as can be estimated, in the structured papyri corpus from Egypt and the Greek New Testament.

5. Conclusion

There are a number of conclusions that can be drawn from these findings. Among these three corpora there are a number of places of significant and broad similarities. For example, *καί* is the most frequent conjunction; the Predicator is the dominant thematized clausal element (for both corpora of papyri, the thematized ordering is P > C > S); the Indicative mood form is the most frequent and the Optative is clearly not used much at all in any of the corpora; the imperfective aspect is the most frequent in expository or epistolary material, and it appears that the stative aspect is used more in such material than in narrative; and the pattern of active > passive > middle voice is the same in all three corpora. There are also several grammatical categories where there are distinct usages among these corpora. In many instances, these can be explained as the result of various contextual factors that determine usage. Examples of differences among the corpora include: the use of conditional conjunctions or the lack of typically narrative conjunctions in the Babatha corpus, probably explainable in terms of the legally oriented texts; the increased thematization of the Subject in the Greek New Testament, as opposed to the other corpora thematizing the Complement; the use of second person in the structured Egyptian papyri corpus due to the fact that it consists of letters, as opposed to third person in the other corpora, with their range of text-types; the structured Egyptian papyri cor-

⁶² As I have also asserted in Porter, "Buried Treasure."

pus being more directive (using the Imperative mood form), as one might expect in heavily second person letters; and the Greek New Testament using the perfective aspect most frequently, reflecting its diverse literary types, including narrative. These results perhaps indicate some regional variation in grammar, although they more likely indicate some variation on the basis of content and text-type. Despite these usually explainable variances, the fundamental grammatical structure of the three corpora seems to be very similar, and reflective of the same linguistic code or system—apparently that of the koine Greek of the Roman period.⁶³

⁶³ On the notion of code and text, see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 151–152.

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